

THE MILITANT

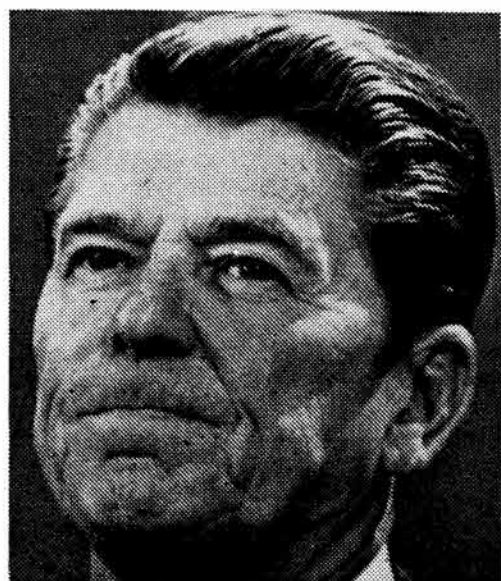
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Reagan lines up with racist South Africa



In a naked defense of racism, Washington vetoed UN resolution condemning South African invasion of Angola. By its vote, the U.S. government underlined that it stands shoulder-to-shoulder with South Africa's apartheid regime, which is determined to crush Black Africa's liberation forces by any means necessary. See editorial, page 2, and story, page 3.

Budget slashers drive down living standards



THE SLASHER

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Terrorism against Iranian people

On August 31 some two million people demonstrated in Tehran to protest the assassination of Iran's President Mohammed Ali Rajai and Prime Minister Mohammed Javad Bahonar.

The march was larger than the huge outpouring on June 30 after a similar bomb blast killed seventy-two government leaders. More workers participated in the August 31 demonstration, many coming in groups from their factories.

The main chants on the march blamed the U.S. government for the killings.

Whatever role Washington may have played in this latest attack, there is no question that the U.S. government looks favorably on the three-month wave of terror that has gripped Iran.

There have been almost daily assassinations of religious leaders and of revolutionary guards, as well as bombings, since June. The various forces advocating the terror and the overthrow of the ruling Islamic Republican Party all claim to have the same goal—the "liberation" of Iran and a return to "democracy."

But who are these forces?

- They include Admiral Kamal Habibollahi, head of the Navy under the shah. He led an unsuccessful hijacking of a gunboat in August aimed at invading Iran and toppling the current regime. His exile group wants to restore a monarchy in Iran.

- Shahpur Bakhtiari, the shah's last prime minister, whose contribution to democracy in his short reign was to kill hundreds of antishah demonstrators.

- The shah's son, who has declared he will return from exile and regain the throne.

- Officers in the Army and state bureaucracy in Iran, whose help was obviously needed to stage the two highly sophisticated bombings against government leaders.

- Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, the former Iranian president who was ousted last June. Bani-Sadr escaped to Paris in a plane flown by one of the shah's private pilots.

Seven days before the bomb that killed Rajai and Bahonar, Bani-Sadr announced that if just five men were killed in Iran, the regime would fall. Rajai and Bahonar were on his hit list.

After their deaths, Bani-Sadr declared: "Victory is near."

- Working out of Paris with Bani-Sadr is Massoud Rajavi, leader of the Mujahedeen, a petty-bourgeois group that carried out guerrilla actions against the shah.

The Mujahedeen began calling for "armed resistance" against the Khomeini regime last June. They agree with Bani-Sadr's recent statement that Iranians "are far worse off than under the shah," the same line taken by Washington.

Rajavi saluted the August 30 assassinations, call-

Socialists freed in Iran

Two women factory workers—Faranak Zahraie and Monavar Shir Ali—were freed from Evin Prison September 1. The two are members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). They were arrested July 4.

ing them "the legitimate resistance of the people." He said the next task was to "finish the Khomeini story . . . and the black reactionary regime."

Far from combating reaction, this attempt to physically destroy the Iranian government is a reactionary attack on the whole revolution. Under the left cover provided by the Mujahedeen the field has been opened for destabilization operations by every variety of counterrevolutionary, including those most closely allied with the U.S. government and CIA.

Rajavi and Bani-Sadr have even called for a bloc of all forces who want "independence, freedom, and Islam" to unite to overthrow the government.

The Iranian workers, by their demonstration August 31, have decisively repudiated the terror campaign. They recognize its counterrevolutionary content and the openings being provided for imperialism to regain control of their country.

At the same time, it is becoming clearer and clearer that this government is unable to defend itself or the revolution.

The government's only solution to the terrorism has been to carry out hundreds of executions. It has failed to mobilize the workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities to defeat the invasion from Iraq. It has refused to take measures against the Iranian capitalists, whose hoarding and sabotage of production have wreaked havoc with the economy. And it has cracked down on democratic rights through the mass executions and the banning of newspapers and all public meetings.

But contrary to the hopeful predictions of some media in this country, the Iranian revolution is not over. The Iranian masses will put up a giant fight to protect what they have won since getting rid of the shah.

Just as it was the working masses who barehandedly defeated the shah's army, it is they who have the power to decisively crush the counterrevolutionary threat and achieve the social and economic liberation they made their revolution for.

Racism abroad, racism at home

In a policy statement delivered by Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker August 29, the Reagan administration stamped its seal of approval on the racist regime of South Africa—one of the world's most hated governments.

"It is not our task to choose between black and

white," Crocker said. In effect, he wrote off the 21 million Blacks who live under apartheid in South Africa, while sneering at every Black nation on that continent.

The statement came as Pretoria is conducting a ruthless invasion of southern Angola and attempting to crush the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Fighting against South Africa's illegal military occupation of Namibia, SWAPO has the overwhelming support of the Namibian population.

Almost every other nation has condemned the South African invasion.

But what did Crocker have to say?

"The Reagan administration has no intention of destabilizing South Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere."

Moreover, the violence does not emanate from Pretoria, according to Crocker, but from the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, who are defending that country's independence.

"It does not serve our interests to walk away from South Africa," Crocker stated.

And what are the interests that Washington puts above the rights of nations, the lives of human beings, the questions of justice and equality? Crocker was frank.

Three billion dollars of investments in southern Africa. Six billion dollars in annual trade. And vital minerals for U.S. industries.

The U.S. government supports a system of exploitation and racist oppression because it serves the interests of big business.

This is not a unique policy for the Reagan administration.

It parallels the offensive against Blacks and all working people at home.

It is at the heart of the Reagan administration's recent decision to weaken—for the first time in forty years—those laws restricting job discrimination by federal contractors.

It explains why the Reagan administration is trying to dismantle the busing programs aimed at achieving school desegregation.

The budget cutbacks. The labor-busting tactics. The soaring military budget. The neutron bomb.

These are the measures serving *their* interests—and in this case, it's *billions* of dollars in profits that's involved.

Blacks and all working people need to fight for *our* interests. We must register a powerful condemnation of Washington's twin policies of racism and exploitation at home and in southern Africa.

We can. By demonstrating in Washington, D.C., on September 19—Solidarity Day—sponsored by the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, the Urban League, Operation PUSH, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the National Black Independent Political Party.

Solidarity means support for all the victims of Reaganism.

Solidarity with the victims of Reagan's pro-business policies in the U.S.

Solidarity with the victims of Reagan's pro-business policies around the world.

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7-18 International Socialist Review

Socialist International discusses Cuba

Cuba's solidarity with antiracist struggle in Southern Africa and with freedom fighters in Central America is causing many more people to sympathize with the Cuban revolution. Some prominent members of the Socialist International now say they favor joining Cuba in a united front against Washington's war moves. **Page 21.**



The Militant

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Reagan backs South African invasion

By Suzanne Haig

For the last two months, the racist South African regime has been waging a brutal, undeclared war in southern Angola. And it has been doing so with the confidence that it has the backing of the Reagan administration in Washington.

On August 26, South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha finally admitted the invasion.

The Pretoria government now claims troops are withdrawing, after killing more than 450 people. But Angola reports fighting is still going on.

Botha justified this flagrant violation of Angola's national sovereignty by claiming the apartheid regime has the right of "hot pursuit" to enter Angola to hunt down liberation forces of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO.)

For almost two decades, SWAPO has been fighting for the independence of Namibia from South African rule. Angola is one of the strongest supporters of the liberation fighters, providing sanctuary for Namibians fleeing South African terror.

The South African regime is ruling Namibia in defiance of United Nations resolutions calling for a cease-fire and UN supervised elections. Knowing that SWAPO would easily win such an election, the regime in Pretoria is stalling, hoping to militarily crush the freedom fighters, and install a puppet regime, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which has little following in Namibia.

The governments of Britain, France, West Germany, Cuba, the Soviet Union, Portugal, Canada, Yugoslavia and others

have strongly condemned the attack.

The Organization of African Unity announced August 27 that it would demand economic sanctions against South Africa and its expulsion from the United Nations.

Within South Africa itself, an unprecedented statement, supported by the National Union of South African Students and other organizations representing 30,000 white students, demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. The statement noted that thousands in the concerned groups "are required by law to serve in the South African defense force."

Reagan justifies invasion

Washington was the only UN Security Council member to veto and therefore kill a resolution August 31 that strongly condemned South Africa for its armed invasion into Angola.

"The U.S. had to vote against the resolution," Charles Lichtenstein, the acting American delegate said, because it "places blame solely on South Africa for the escalation of violence."

He said that "foreign combat forces in Angola, particularly the large Cuban force" and Soviet arms were fueling the violence.

In other words, Angola's government is responsible for the invasion because it has sought help to defend itself against such attacks.

Lichtenstein's statements were made two days after an administration paper on South Africa was released, which refused to "choose between Black and white"—that is, to oppose apartheid.

Virtually alone, the Reagan administration has defended South Africa.

Cuban troops were originally invited to Angola by the government to help defeat a U.S.-backed South African invasion in 1975-76. The troops have remained in Angola to help defend its independence against similar attacks.

Referring to Washington's position, a South African official remarked, "We are obviously pleased that the United States adopts a more realistic stance than the others. . . ."

Scorched-earth policy

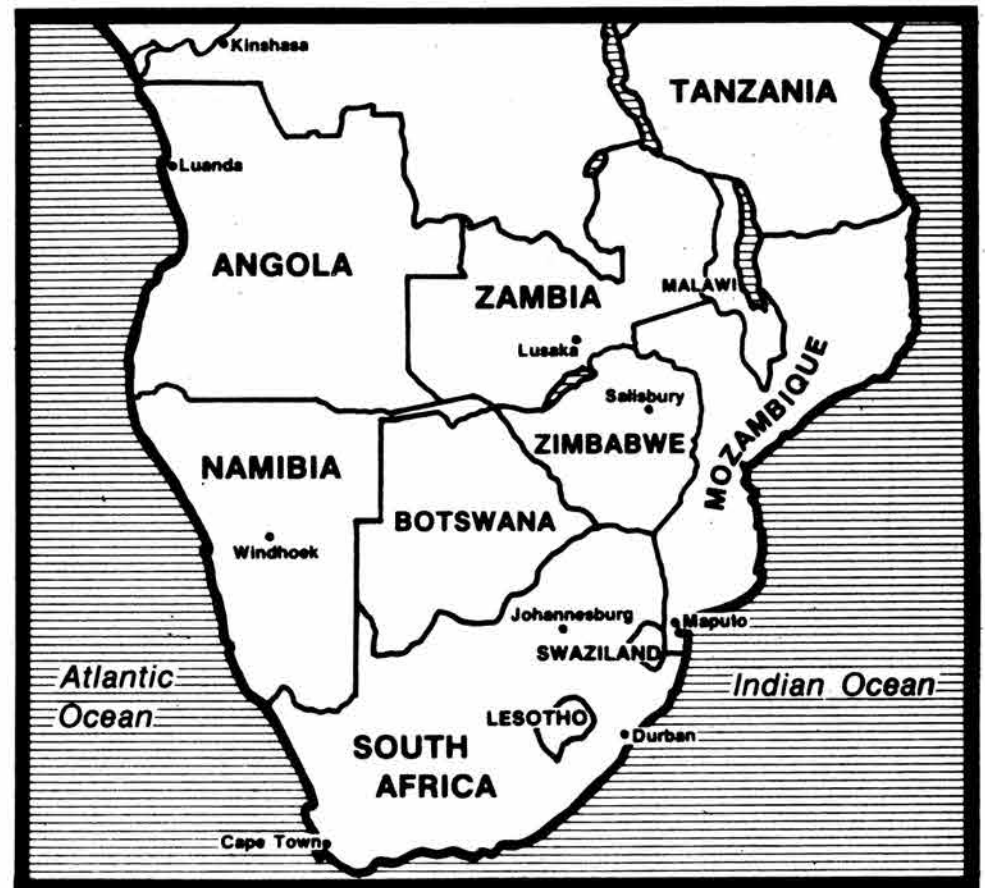
The current South African invasion is the largest since the 1975-76 war.

Peasants are fleeing their homes in southern Angola. Towns and crops were being burned and bombed to the ground, water holes sabotaged, and cattle slaughtered in what can only be called a scorched-earth policy.

Despite stiff resistance from Angolan troops, two South African columns with tanks and armored vehicles advanced to towns 100 miles within Angola. The towns of Xangongo, Cahama, and Chibemba have been totally destroyed. Chibemba is 200 miles inside Angola.

South African jets are in control of the air space in southern Angola and are bombing the main roads to the Namibia-Angola border.

Forty-five thousand troops are reported



ed massed in Namibia near the border.

The Angolan government announced a general mobilization of its armed forces. If the terror continues, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos said, he might be forced to call upon the Cuban troops in Angola to join in the fight.

In a statement issued on August 28, the Cuban government declared, "If the South African invading columns reach the lines defended by the Cuban internationalist fighters, our troops—complying with the obligations of solidarity of our country with the sister republic of Angola—will go into action with all the means at their disposal."

Angolan government

The South African invasion is also aimed at the Angolan government.

The defeat of the South African invasion in 1975-76 and the formation of an independent Angola has been a tremendous inspiration for the African liberation struggle. It bolstered the struggle for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, the escalation of the Namibian independence struggle, and the massive anti-racist protests in South Africa itself.

The apartheid regime, with Washington's approval and aid, wants to turn back this advancing revolution.

President dos Santos explained that besides wanting to eliminate SWAPO, South Africa aims to "prevent reconstruction of the People's Republic [of Angola]" and to "occupy Angola's urban centers and install UNITA there."

UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is the pro-South African movement in Angola headed by Jonas Savimbi. With its main bases in South African-controlled Namibia, it is armed, trained, and financed by

the South Africans. Savimbi, in turn, provides information to Pretoria on SWAPO's activities and whereabouts.

'The fault of the U.S.'

African diplomats told the *Washington Post* August 25 that the invasion "was the fault of the United States" because of the Reagan administration's support to the apartheid regime.

Washington's policy toward southern Africa links the independence of Namibia to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the inclusion of UNITA leaders in the Angolan government.

Washington is also behind stalling the Namibian elections. An administration policy memorandum, recently made available to the *New York Times*, stated that South Africa and its white allies in Namibia "need 12 to 18 months, they believe, to get into a better position to compete with Swapo." They need "a formula that reduces Swapo's advantages and saves face."

The "formula" South Africa has apparently decided upon is search and destroy.

The memo also proposed steps "to lend political support and legitimacy to Savimbi," crudely warning, "If they [the Angolan government] won't play, we have other options."

Millions of people around the world are responding with hatred and disgust to South Africa's terror in Angola and the whitewash given the invasion by Washington.

Nor will the 22 million people of African descent in the United States, along with the millions of other working people, want to line up with Pretoria against the struggle for freedom by the Black majority of southern Africa.

Rugby game to be protested

By Michael Kozak

SART (Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour) announced August 28 that a national demonstration against the South African Rugby Team tour will be held in Albany, New York, on September 22. The South African team known as the Springboks is touring the U.S. this fall. Games had been scheduled for Chicago, New York City, and Albany. Protests forced the New York City game to be cancelled and moved to Rochester. Chicago's game will be played at a secret site.

Despite widespread protests Albany's mayor, Erastus Corning, has allowed use of the city's Bleecker Stadium for the game.

SART, which represents more than 100 civil rights, religious, political, and sports organizations, will convene a large-scale demonstration in Albany when the team plays on September 22. The demonstration will be a peaceful protest against South Africa's policy of apartheid.

Read the 'Militant'

The *Militant* is a weekly socialist newspaper. Unlike the big business press, it takes the side of working people and tells the truth about workers' struggles from the U.S. to Poland to El Salvador. The *Militant* digs out the facts about the harm done by Reagan's budget and taxes. We give the strikers' side of the story from the coal miners to the air controllers.

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N.Y. rally for air controllers

'Reagan has no mandate from the working class!'



Garment workers at September 1 rally

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—The New York Central Labor Council called a midday rally in support of striking air traffic controllers September 1.

Foley Square, the rally site, is across the street from the Federal Building.

It houses the Department of Transportation, now in charge of firing members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) and replacing them with strikebreakers.

PATCO member Paul D'Amato, bullhorn in hand, mixes the leading of chants with an ongoing speech telling the strikers' story to onlookers.

"Do you know that 89 percent of air traffic controllers are forced to retire early?" he asks.

"We're a small union, 12,000 members. But in these last few weeks we've won a lot of support," he says.

"We're not going to let the big business people, the corporations run over the working people of this country," D'Amato declares.

Many strikers brought their families. A twelve-year-old boy walks along the edge of the sidewalk offering "I support PATCO" buttons for a dollar.

"I know of near misses at Kennedy," D'Amato says. "They've got one guy in there who hasn't worked in fifteen years. He's a paper pusher."

A group of workers gathered on a street corner listening intently as the speaker tells of medically disqualified controllers at work.

Off to the side a television newscaster interviews a PATCO spokesman.

"They've cut off my unemployment, my food stamps," he tells her. "I can't get on welfare. They want to foreclose

our government loans.

"I spent eighteen months in Vietnam, and now they're trying to starve my family."

Paul D'Amato continues on the bullhorn: "Last year the *Post* had a big headline—'The man who saved New York.' He kept a plane from hitting the World Trade Center. Now that man has been fired because he went on strike with us."

Shortly after noon the picketers pour across the street for the rally. In the next hour they will be joined by more workers, about 500 in all.

As the crowd gathers, D'Amato calls out the names of unions present. They include the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Teamsters, and Firefighters. More than twenty-five in all.

Among the first speakers is Harry Varnsdale, president of the central labor council. He's followed by Michael Mann, regional director of the AFL-CIO.

"Michael Fermon, regional PATCO head, takes the bullhorn.

"Over seventy of our members are under secret indictment. The greatest cover up in the history of our country is being perpetrated by the U.S. government," he says. "They've consistently lied about the state of the air traffic control system."

Victor Gottbaum, president of District 37 of AFSCME, chides Reagan for hypocritically supporting collective bargaining in Poland while opposing it here.

He points to news reports that 14,000 airline workers have been laid off in the wake of the strike.

The papers say that airline flights are down 20 percent.

Several speakers call attention to the

Labor Day demonstration as a time to back PATCO.

Frank Barbaro, candidate for mayor of New York City in the Democratic Party primary, gives a speech calculated to get a rise out of the crowd.

A PATCO worker applauding turns to his wife and says, "Too bad we don't live in New York. We can't vote for him."

Then, after pausing a minute, he says, "He'd be the first one to cut the cops' and firemen's throats when they go on strike. Those politicians are all the same."

John Lawe, head of the Transport Workers Union, and Sam Meyers, a United Auto Workers leader, add their support for the strike.

Cathy Andrade, an official with the ILGWU, addresses the rally in Spanish.

Among other speakers were representatives of UAW District 65 and the American Federation of Teachers.

Given the size of the New York City labor movement, the turnout was less than many had hoped. Several New York area workers told the *Militant* they had heard no mention of the event on the job.

While many officials came, they apparently did little to draw out the ranks.

The most sizeable and militant contingent was the PATCO workers themselves.

As the rally ended, they began moving back across the street to resume their picket line.

Urging others to join them, a woman PATCO member grabbed the bullhorn and exclaimed, "Let's show them that Reagan doesn't have any mandate from the working class."

Strike news

• NEW ORLEANS—Nels J'Anthony reports that U.S. District Judge George Arceneaux, Jr., found six striking air traffic controllers in contempt of court August 29. They had been charged with violating a temporary restraining order issued August 3.

Arceneaux denied a request for a trial. PATCO plans to appeal.

• ATLANTA—Eastern Airlines accused baggage handlers of carrying out a slowdown in response to layoffs coming in the wake of an attempt to break the PATCO strike. Eastern got a restraining order against International Association of Machinists District 100 August 27. The next day the company got a contempt of court citation.

IAM said the delays were caused by problems in computerized bag handling equipment. Eastern later dropped the contempt citation.

• ALBANY, N.Y.—Some 300 PATCO supporters gathered at the Labor Temple, where they heard Ray Pfeifer, local PATCO president, charge that "Reagan's administration is anti-union and PATCO is just the first step."

"With your help," Pfeifer said, "we shall overcome."

A film promoting the September 19 AFL-CIO march in Washington was shown.

New tax cuts: more charity for the rich

By William Gottlieb

The Reagan administration claims that its cuts in social spending will be made up by an upsurge in private charity.

There is a catch however.

The rich give to charity primarily to reduce their tax burden. But the Reagan tax cuts for the rich leave them with far less incentive to give to charity.

A study by the Urban Institute predicts that donations to private charities will fall \$18 billion during the years 1981-84 from what they would have been under the old tax laws.

Since the study did not take into account the elimination of inheritance taxes on estates up to \$600,000, the fall off in donations to private charities will probably be even greater.

The August 28 *New York Times* re-

ports one of the study's conclusions:

"The new legislation, by providing greater reductions to higher-bracket taxpayers, is likely to shift the burden of supporting charities more to families with incomes of \$6,000 to \$25,000."

Charity, however, is not going out of style altogether. It is simply going out of style for the poor. For big corporations, charity is booming.

A grotesque example of this is a new tax law passed by Congress at the urging of the Reagan administration. This is how it works:

Suppose Chrysler makes an investment of \$20 million in new equipment. The government rewards Chrysler's enterprising behavior by relieving it of the need to pay, let's say, \$2 million in taxes.

But if Chrysler is operating at a loss it doesn't have to pay taxes anyway. The

\$2 million tax credit is therefore useless to it.

That is until now.

Under the new tax laws, Chrysler can "sell" the new equipment to a profitable corporation like Exxon. Exxon "buys" the equipment for \$2 million in cash and a ten-year note for \$18 million (including interest). Exxon then "leases" the equipment back to Chrysler, for a total rental of \$18 million. Exxon's note and Chrysler's rent payments on the lease cancel each other out; they are legal fictions. At the end of ten years Chrysler "buys" back the equipment for one dollar.

Chrysler in effect has sold the \$2 million investment tax credit to Exxon. It pockets the \$2 million. Exxon gets a tax break for its \$2 million "investment" plus tax breaks for depreciation of "its" (actually Chrysler's) equipment, and fic-

titious interest "expenses" on its fictitious note to Chrysler.

The profits on the whole complex transaction come straight from the U.S. Treasury.

But even in a time of tax cut fever, there is talk of raising taxes—on us, of course, not Exxon or Chrysler. The August 29 *Washington Post* reports that officials in the Department of Health and Human Services would like to impose a tax on workers who benefit from employer-paid medical insurance. These officials think that such a tax would encourage unions to negotiate "less comprehensive and less expensive insurance plans."

A White House spokesman claimed that Reagan "would not look with favor" on the proposal. Remember when he said the same thing about cutting Social Security?

What the Nat'l Black Party stands for

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held its founding Congress on August 21-23 in Chicago. Seven hundred guests and delegates participated in the meeting.

The purpose of the Congress was to adopt a charter outlining the new party's political program and perspectives and to establish the organization's structure and elect national officers. The proposed charter was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the delegates present.

The NBIPP's charter is the most advanced program adopted by any organization in the Black movement. It clearly calls on Black Americans to "oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

Below are the first three sections of the charter: Statement of Principles (Preamble), Goals and Principles of Unity. In a future issue of the 'Militant' the party's platform and program will be reprinted.

The historic decision of the National Black Political Convention, which declared an Independent National Black Political Party in formation, was not just a decision to found a new organization, but to unleash an organized political movement for Black self-determination in the United States, and to affirm, once again in our lifetime, the reality that we ourselves must make the critical contribution to our own liberation.

We, therefore, establish this Charter of the National Black Independent Political Party:

The Party will be **NATIONAL** in that it will seek to organize Black people in every state and region in this country.

The Party will be **BLACK** in that it seeks to organize people of African descent, first and foremost.

The Party will be **INDEPENDENT** in that it will draw its source of support, strength and direction from Black people in accordance with our belief in the value and dignity of our history and culture; and with consideration and respect for all other peoples.

The Party will be **POLITICAL** in the sense that it must reflect the multifaceted nature of the social, economic and political power which must be organized to challenge the many forms of oppression arrayed against the masses of Black people.

Lastly, it will be a **PARTY** in that we establish goals, identify our interests, problems and priorities, and develop strategies, tactics and formulate projects and programs to achieve and defend our interests as a national Black community.

Our party is a political organization which strives to prioritize the needs of the people and unite them around a concrete program. It synthesizes the aspirations of the people, and begins to define political programs and develops an ideological framework for mass political action.

The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation.

Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to create policies for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-economic system.

So we established the National Black Independent Political Party, understanding that past and its triumphs, failures and possibilities, but reaching to surpass that legacy and to create new forms of economic, political and social power which will enable us to create a new future for our people.

Goals of the Party

A. To liberate the masses of Black people from genocide and the dehumanizing conditions of racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation.

B. To organize the masses of Black people to force the government to institute and implement policies that will meet our fundamental needs in a manner that promotes and enhances human dignity.

C. To instill respect for universal principles which value the fulfillment of human needs, equality, dignity, and social justice.

D. To foster development of a change in economic thinking from individualistic to collective values, establishing cooperative economic ventures that will enable Black people to reap the benefits of their labor

and maximize utilization of our existing resources while developing Black economic institutions.

E. To support the right of Black and Third World peoples throughout the world, as well as in the U.S. for self-determination, and the establishment of a new economic order.

F. To protect and defend our heritage, to promote the progressive traditions of our culture and the contribution of African and African-American (including Caribbean) civilization to the world.

G. To struggle to guarantee Black people their basic economic and political rights as recognized in the United Nations covenant of human rights, which include but are not limited to the right to a nationality, the right to a job at a decent wage, safe and sanitary housing and the right to an education equal to that of the most well-off sectors of this society.

H. To provide for the security and defense of Black people to be safe in their homes and communities.

I. To work for unity, cooperation and mutual support between Black people in the United States and all African people of the world.

J. To solicit moral and material support among the peoples of the world for the struggle of Black people in the United States.

K. To recreate the deepseated feeling of love and respect for Black People in order to reverse the conditioning process that teaches our people to hate themselves thereby destroying the desire to struggle in our best interest.

Principles of Unity

The Party must have an historical analysis that examines the present condition of Black people as it derives from the African experience through the European slave trade and the development of imperialism and the capitalist system. In this regard, we must develop strategies and tactics which address the following:

1. African people in the United States, in effect, constitute an oppressed nation, therefore our struggle must be manifested through a national liberation struggle.

2. Historically, African people suffer from racism and/or discrimination all over the world; therefore we must struggle against racism and all concepts of racial superiority.

3. Since national oppression, racist superiority beliefs and capitalist exploitation are consistent characteristics of imperialism, constituting an aggression against our right to self determination, the position of The Party must be anti-imperialist.

4. African people have suffered from capitalist class exploitation which forces us to occupy the bottom strata of society; therefore we must struggle against this and all other forms of exploitation.

5. The Party must have the interests of the masses of African people at the heart of its program. Therefore, The Party must develop an ideological frame-

work that incorporates the principle concerns of the various segments of the community (i.e. workers, students, unemployed, professionals). The Party must form positions based on the objective conditions confronting our people and we must use clear and concise language that deals with issues which the majority of African people can identify.

6. The Party must address itself to the general disadvantaged condition of African people in the United States and specifically to the manifold problems of the semi-skilled and unskilled masses through fighting for quality education and full employment.

7. The Party must recognize the importance of self determination in our struggle for liberation to set up a procedure to resolve critical questions, including the land issue.

8. The Party must define the need for unity within our struggle. We should recognize the Black Liberation Flag (Red, Black and Green) as our symbol of unity.

9. The Party must address the need for political education among its members and the community. The Party must accept responsibility for raising consciousness among African people.

10. The Party must define our attitude towards the Democratic and Republican parties. We should observe both the Democrats and Republicans as serving only the interests of the ruling class; therefore, they are diametrically opposed to the interests of African and poor people.

11. The Party must combat elitism in all its forms. We must reject the western bourgeois ideal of holding intellectual work to be superior to the laborious task of nation-building. We must reject cliquism and factionalism in its attempts to undermine the fabric of party unity and unity among the African masses. We must oppose discrimination against the very young and the very old; these too are appendages of an anti-people society. The Party must take a firm stand against sexism or the domination and repression of one sex by another politically, economically, socially and in struggle.

12. The Party must address the suppression of vital African cultural institutions in the United States.

13. African people through bitter experience, have learned we cannot rely on the forces of repression (i.e. police, FBI, CIA) for our personal security. We also recognize the increasing current of fascist attacks against the African community (e.g., KKK, nazi, etc.). Therefore, The Party must create institutions for both our individual and collective self defense.

14. The Party must develop a coherent, political ideology as its guiding principle. Therefore The Party's ideology should encompass the essence of the aforementioned 13 points and should provide a basis of unity among the masses of African people in the United States, as well as the broader masses of African people in Africa, the Caribbean and elsewhere, and consistently support the struggle of other oppressed peoples throughout the world.



Highlights and sidelights of socialist convention

Last week the *Militant* ran a news story on the recent Socialist Workers Party convention. It reported on the major political discussions and the decisions the delegates adopted.

This week the International Socialist Review supplement features a report by Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, adopted by the convention.

The following article looks at who came to the convention and some of the things they did during the week.

By Nelson Blackstock

More than 1,300 registered for the Socialist Workers Party national convention.

Forty-four percent were under thirty, and a total of 272 were members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

And 253 were members of neither the SWP or YSA. This included more than 80 guests from abroad.

* * *

Convention participants had done a lot of traveling since the last SWP convention. Some 251 had been to Cuba, 56 to Nicaragua, 35 to Grenada, and eight to Poland.

* * *

Workers in several industries gathered during the convention to discuss their work on the job and questions facing their particular unions.

They included workers in coal mining, steel, auto, the electrical industry, garment, rail, transit, and oil. There were also separate meetings of machinists, teamsters, and members of public employee unions.

* * *

Beverly Andalora is a fireman on Conrail and a member of the United Transportation Union. A New Jersey native, she works out of the Hoboken station. She is twenty-two years old and has belonged to the YSA for the past two years.

Today she is active with other Conrail and Amtrak workers in organizing a fightback against proposed cutbacks that would sharply curtail passenger service and throw thousands of rail workers out of their jobs.

"I like sharing experiences here with rail workers from all around the country," she said. "We all have a lot to learn."

* * *

Altogether forty-four Canadian socialist workers were here. Among them were striking steel workers, wood cutters, and postal workers, taking a break from the picket line to visit with fellow socialists in the United States.

* * *

A twenty-five-year-old member of the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, had flown over for the convention. Like airline workers here, he is able to fly at a reduced rate.

His brother, also a League member, is an air traffic controller, as are several other League members.

He is especially happy when it is reported to the convention that a nearby meeting of air traffic controllers cheered when they heard that controllers in France would refuse to handle American flights.

He says a 1973 strike of French air traffic controllers helped set off a big round of labor struggles. The controllers finally won, he says, when pilots grounded their planes after a mid-air collision.

* * *

The convention heard greetings delivered by representatives from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and socialist groups in Britain, Canada, Israel, Mexico, and Sweden. Revolution-



Banner welcomes delegates in French, Spanish, and English.

Militant/Lou Howort

aries also came from Australia, the Dominican Republic, France, Hong Kong, Iran, New Zealand, Peru, and Puerto Rico. Messages were also read from groups in Denmark, Holland and Iran.

* * *

Two socialists came from Israel. One works in a steel fabrication shop and the other in the electronics industry. Both are leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League, Israeli section of the Fourth International.

* * *

Cynthia Sample is a Choctaw Indian from Oklahoma, where she's active in tribal affairs. Her tribe is today trying to wrest more power from the notorious Bureau of Indian Affairs, through which the federal government dictates policies to the tribes.

Sample said she came at the invitation of Dallas socialists, whom she met last fall when she dropped into their bookstore. She bought a subscription to the *Militant* and has been reading it ever since.

"I feel like I'm learning a lot in a short period of time," she said. "One of the things I find attractive about the SWP is the fact that it has a program on which its work is based."

* * *

Raymond Warren, 21, is a member of the National Black Independent Political Party chapter in Birmingham, Alabama. He's been active in the new party since it was set up about five months ago.

A few days before the convention began, Warren's neighbor, a socialist, invited him to come to the convention.

"I didn't have very much of an idea what it was going to be like," he said. "But I'm learning a lot. I'm definitely coming back next year."

* * *

Throughout the week convention goes new to the ideas of socialism could attend introductory classes in either Spanish or English.

The Spanish-language classes drew people from several Latin American countries, as well as from the United States.

Throughout the convention simultaneous translation of the proceedings was available in both Spanish and French.

The basic political resolution before the convention was available in Spanish. In New York City the oral discussion preparing for the convention was translated into Spanish, and Spanish contributions were translated into English.

* * *

In the evenings, after the sessions, socialists met to talk about their work in

a number of arenas, including the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the draft; solidarity with Grenada; solidarity with the Irish struggle; the antinuclear movement; the fight for women's rights; and antiracist struggles. There were panels on Nicaragua and Poland.

Socialists also attended workshops on learning Spanish; maintaining bookstores; organizing public forums; and recruiting new members to the socialist movement.

They also gathered to talk about circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a biweekly Spanish-language socialist periodical.

* * *

Local SWP election campaign organizers got together to compare notes and map out plans for coming months.

Lisa Potash of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, said SWP candidate Betsy Soares, a member of the International Association of Machinists, is the only candidate in the field in the race for mayor there, taking on Ku Klux Klan candidate Joe Grady, who is running in the Republican primary.

In Detroit, Bill Artz said, socialists used their petition drive to get on the ballot in the mayoral race as an opportunity to sound out working-class voters on the issues. Their candidate is Phil Shannon, an oil worker. They took advantage of the drive to campaign against a tax-the-workers referendum being pushed by big business in collu-

sion with mayor Coleman Young.

* * *

Melanie Benson, a member of the Twin Cities chapter of the YSA, is running for city council in Minneapolis. A city bus driver for the past five years, she finds her job puts her in a unique position to get a hearing for her ideas.

"I'm running in the eighth ward. It just happens that my bus runs right through the center of it," she told the campaign workshop.

"Door-to-door petitioning was a thrilling experience for us. I found that in eight out of ten houses there was somebody who recognized me.

"Now some people who get on my bus tell me they hear I'm running for office and ask how the campaign is going.

"During rush hour I'll get into discussions with passengers about Poland, Cuba, or some issue in city politics. Sometimes I'm only talking to one person, but I might have a captive audience of forty or fifty.

"You might say my bus is a good vehicle for my campaign."

* * *

Two years ago the SWP established a leadership school. Each session lasts six months. Just before the convention the latest session drew to a close.

The ten new graduates each gave a class based on their studies of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the revolutionary socialist movement.

The classes focused on Marx and Engels' writings on the American civil war, Ireland, Poland, taxes, and the origins of Marxism.

* * *

On the evening of August 5 Thiago de Mello led his band through a selection of his Brazilian jazz compositions.

The concert benefited the Political Rights Defense Fund, which helps finance and publicize the socialist suit against government spying and harassment.

Thiago's band, Amazon, was featured at the Kool (formerly Newport) Jazz Festival this summer.

The band consists of two trumpets, three reeds, a drum, electric bass, and a piano. Thiago plays acoustic guitar, several percussion instruments from his native Amazon region of Brazil, and sings.

The band features tight ensemble work, often spot-lighting the soaring alto sax of Mark Kirk, a Phil Woods protégé.

Their final number was dedicated to Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador.

Hidden cuts in Social Security

By William Gottlieb

Sometimes the spirit of the Reagan-Congress cuts comes out most clearly in the "small things."

For example, consider some of the following cuts in Social Security.

Parents will lose Social Security benefits when the youngest child turns 16 instead of 18. This cut mostly affects widows. By 1986 it is estimated that \$1.7 billion will be "saved."

In another "reform," retiring widows will have to wait a month beyond their 62nd birthday to begin getting payments unless they were born on the first or second day of the month. Another \$1.2 billion.

Social Security disability benefits will be calculated in such a way that the total benefits (including workmen's compensation) will henceforth be 80 percent of the workers' families' regular income. By 1986 \$633 million will have been taken out of our pockets through this gimmick.

Starting in September the method of calculating Social Security will be changed. Unlike now, the benefits will

be rounded to the next lower dime at each intermediate step in the calculation and to the lower dollar in the final step. By 1986 working people will have lost \$1.5 billion.

From now on the lump-sum death benefit of \$255 will no longer be paid to grown children or other relatives. By 1986 this gimmick will snatch \$1 billion from the pockets of working people.

The filching of nickels and dimes from the elderly didn't begin with Reagan.

Four years ago, Congress decreed that those born after 1916 will get smaller benefits than those born in 1916 or earlier.

A person born after 1916 can get up to \$2,100 a year less than one born before 1916.

All these savings will be well appreciated by the multimillionaires. The "savings" will help pay for their nuclear missiles and their billion dollar tax steals.

And in exchange, the rest of us will get a big increase in Social Security taxes and the promise of even bigger cuts in Social Security benefits.

**international
socialist
review**

**WHY WE
NEED A
LABOR PARTY**

**The Reagan
Attack**

By Jack Barnes

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Poland's Solidarity: Beacon for workers

Last month—the first anniversary of the Gdansk shipyard strikes—the big business media made some sober assessments of events in Poland.

Gone, for the most part, were the buoyant editorials of a year ago, when the *New York Times*, for example, called the demands of the Polish workers "exhilarating."

In their place appeared more candid, and for them, more disquieting appraisals. An NBC special noted, for instance, that "the closest thing to a Marxist revolution is taking place in Poland."

This shift was due to two factors. The revolution in Poland has deepened, as shown by the August hunger protests, strikes by Solidarity for access to the media, as well as the burgeoning movement for workers self-management. And Moscow has decided, at least for the time being, that it cannot afford to attempt to militarily crush the workers movement.

Moscow's retreat from intervention was an inspiring development for all supporters of the Polish workers. But for Washington's cold warriors, it was a setback.

They counted on exploiting a Soviet invasion to beat the drums for a stronger NATO, a bigger military budget, reinstitution of the draft, and intervention in El Salvador.

And they used the threat of a Soviet military intervention in an attempt to bury the real lessons of the Polish workers' struggle in a stream of anticommunist propaganda.

With the Reagan budget cutting basic social services and with the brutal union busting against the air controllers, it is getting harder to conceal that the goals of the Polish workers are exactly the opposite of everything the Reagan administration and U.S. big business stand for.

So the employers' spokespeople have begun to talk more openly about the Polish workers as an obstacle to their drive to increase profits by reducing the living standards and rights of the working class. An immediate worry plaguing them is the billions in loans owed big Western banks by Poland. In a lead editorial on this subject, the *Wall Street Journal* suggested that President Reagan would "soon have to make some decisions on what he wants to do about Poland in the event that the Soviet Union *doesn't* invade."

The big business media increasingly predict that the Warsaw bureaucrats will prove unable to impose on the workers the severe austerity measures needed to pay back the loans and meet the usurious interest rates.

Not New York City

The banks "have no way of forcing the Poles to pay . . .," *Fortune Magazine* states, September 7. "The worst thing that could happen, the leading bankers agree, would be for some banks to bolt, declare a default, and try to seize Polish property—an airliner or a freighter, perhaps . . . that would bring down the curtain." If they tried that, you see, Poland could cancel the debt—and get away with it.

Poland, they are complaining, is not New York City, Turkey, or Jamaica. It is a workers state. The economy is nationalized and the state does not serve

the profit interests of private capitalists.

The banks can't force Warsaw to denationalize industries. They can't put reactionary generals in power, who can slash public services, eliminate food subsidies, throw people out of work, and bust unions—as they have done in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

The biggest obstacle to the banks in Poland isn't the bureaucrats in Moscow and Warsaw. All they are interested in is retaining their privileges. They have tried to impose the sacrifices the banks demand.

The big obstacle facing the banks is the existence of Solidarity. They can't expect anything near the scale of sacrifice imposed on American workers, British workers, Turkish workers, or Jamaican workers, because the Polish workers united and organized to fight back.

Starve them

Comparing the air controllers strike here with actions called by Solidarity, the *Christian Science Monitor* observed August 7, "President Reagan had a stronger hand than Polish Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski partly because there were only some 13,000 air traffic controllers in the strike that defied the U.S. government."

"In Poland the entire labor movement, supported by the farming population, was in the real opposition."

Speaking bluntly about these problems, the *Wall Street Journal* called "naive" any idea that the IMF can get a foothold in Poland and steer the economy toward capitalism.

This "assumes that the Soviet commissars on the one hand and the Polish labor unions on the other would roll over and play dead while the IMF, in return for its lines of credit, tried to enforce certain liberalizations in the structure of Poland's economy and a se-



vere austerity program," they wrote in their August 27 editorial.

As for more loans "quid pro quos from Poland would be worthless," they warn. "The only proper condition that a lender could attach to a loan is that Poland go capitalist . . . [a gamble] the west, in the long run, will lose."

They oppose any more loans by Washington, the banks, or the IMF. Their solution is to starve the Poles into submission by denying all economic assistance.

The real enemy, these articles openly admit, are not officials in Moscow or Warsaw, but the Polish workers who are "going too far," and need to "buckle down and get to work," as the *Monitor* puts it.

More and more, the media is viewing Poland in the context of the impact of the world capitalist economic crisis on workers everywhere. After all, what the banks—with the cooperation of the Polish bureaucrats—are trying to do in Poland is only what big business is doing here in the United States under Reagan, in Great Britain under Thatcher, and around the world.

The recognize the Poles as a dangerous example to workers of how to resist the demands of big business.

The British weekly *Economist* had this to say in an article that was highlighted on the front cover with a

photo of Marx's grave bearing the words, "Workers of all lands, unite!":

"Most people through most of the past five years have wanted to throw their existing governments out. Poland today is a mirror that East Europe holds up to the bourgeois world, where incumbent heads of government in the five largest democracies . . . have lost six out of their seven elections since late 1976."

'Rather be in Poland'

But while big business was taking a hard look at Poland, so was the labor movement.

"I would rather be a controller in Poland," proclaimed a placard carried by a picketer on the first day of the PATCO strike.

In Chicago, PATCO strikers carried the Polish flag on the picket line.

Speaking to the strikers at a rally August 8 in Oberlin, Ohio, AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland pointed to Reagan's hypocrisy, praising the workers in Poland for doing what he was jailing controllers for doing in the U.S.

To working people all over the world, Poland has become a beacon of resistance against the austerity drives.

In Poland the workers are fighting—and winning. They have a labor leadership that consistently fights in their interests. They know the importance of resisting all attempts by their enemies to divide them among themselves or from their allies.

Chain of resistance

Poland has become a link in the chain of working-class resistance to the big business offensive.

The demonstrations and strikes of the Polish workers are linked to the British youth fighting austerity and racism; to the Irish hunger strikers giving their lives to end British rule in Ireland; to the fighters against apartheid in South Africa, Namibia, and Angola; to the heroic Vietnamese, Laotians, and Kampucheanse who refuse to bow in the face of hunger; to the Salvadoran workers and farmers who have stymied Reagan's attempts to stabilize the junta; to the French workers, who are putting their stamp on many of the policies of the Mitterrand government; and to the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Grenadians who are shaking South America and the world by their revolutionary example.

And the Polish workers are linked as well to the air controllers in this country who are defending their human dignity, and to all who will march September 19 as part of the AFL-CIO's "Solidarity Day."



'Workers' self-management'

NTO

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Why We Need A Labor Party

The Reagan Attack

By Jack Barnes

The following report was given by Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, to the recent SWP convention. The report was approved by vote of a large majority of delegates.

The story, as told in the newspapers and on television last week, was sensational. One would have to believe that last week will go down in history as the "end-of-July massacre"—to use the old Watergate language—of the Democratic Party.

On Monday, President Reagan gives a nationwide television address. He says that the Democrats are still too equivocal in responding to his proposals. They haven't given in enough. All of them must come over and vote for his budget and tax plan. He demands it. His "mandate from the people" requires it.

On Tuesday, the way the big-business press tells it, telephone calls barrage the Congress in answer to the appeal of the popular president. Every Democrat in Congress is phoned by the people, demanding lower taxes and less government.

By Wednesday, eighty Democrats, chastened by the people, capitulate to the White House; the House Democratic Party majority is upset; Reagan's tax plan is adopted; his mandate respected.

That's what we got in the papers and over the airwaves. The headlines called Reagan's tax package: "The Fiscal Revolution," "The Decline and Fall of Big Government," and "The Start of the Defeat of Government Bureaucracy." The firm supporters of this ruling-class program said it was the beginning of the fight to really whip inflation, to whip slow economic growth, to whip unemployment, to cut back the role of the government in the economy, and more.

Reversal of Direction

Actually, it was the capstone to the most reactionary legislative package passed by the U.S. Congress in almost half a century. It symbolized the reversal of the direction of government policies on social expenditures during the forty-five years since the New Deal.

On Thursday, Reagan, following up on his victory, gave a speech in Georgia calling for a return to "state's rights." He said that, "With our economic proposals, we are staging a quiet federalist revolution." He pledged to put an end to "the burgeoning of federal powers."

Big business was ecstatic. That was clear from the financial pages and editorial columns.

The president of Chase Manhattan had this to say: "The New Deal was a turning point in its day, and the President's program is what our economy and our capitalist system requires at this time."

Another top executive told the *New York Times*, "There is going to be a whole restructuring of American business."

Headlines announced: "Conservative Shift Created in 190 Days"; "Radically New Course for U.S. Fiscal Policy"; "Reagan says cuts are start of revolution"; "Upset Victory Over Democrats." It was like the Bad News Bears beat the New York Yankees.

Then there were the liberal Democrats. Arizona Democrat Morris Udall gave an athletic explanation. They were hit by an "all-out, full-court press by the President."

House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, with a terrible hangover, said that the Democrats had

been hit by "a nationwide advertising blitz" by Reagan. It had a "devastating effect," he said.

By Thursday, the Democrats were beginning to get back on an even keel. James Jones of Oklahoma, chairman of the House Budget Committee, found a "victory" for the Democrats. The 3 million people who are going to lose Social Security benefits will "know precisely why they lost them," he said.

A *New York Times* headline said: "Losing Democrats Breathing Easier; The Sting of Defeat Mitigated by Feeling That Tax Plan May Hurt the Economy." That's why they're breathing easier.

Shift to Right in Bourgeois Politics

What was actually involved was quite a bit different from this. And it's the most important single thing we have to discuss at this convention.

What was involved, in reality, was another escalation of the relentless austerity offensive that has been sharpened by the shift to the right in bourgeois politics that followed Reagan's election. The capitalist rulers are determined to take back what American workers conquered in the 1930s; and to take back what Blacks, women, and others won in the 1960s.

A *Washington Post* dispatch summed it up as a package that "dramatically reverses nearly half a century of ever-expanding government involvement in the nation's social welfare."

The plans the ruling class have set in motion are devastating. It would take hours to list the ramifications of the new budget and tax package, and related moves. But we can at least touch on the broad categories.

Social Security

On the economic plane. Some 250 domestic spending programs are being gutted. The government is beginning the process of cutting back Social Security—\$2.2 billion is slashed this year alone. The \$122 monthly minimum benefit is gone.

Food stamps are being cut \$1.7 billion. No food stamps for strikers. They're cutting \$4.6 billion for job training. Aid for the handicapped, and special programs for the elderly, foster care, education, health programs, legal services, scholarships—they're all being cut.

'Reagan's tax plan—the most reactionary legislative package passed in almost half a century—symbolized the reversal of the direction of government policies on social expenditures during the forty-five years since the New Deal.'



Black lung and brown lung benefits for coal miners and textile workers; protection against poisonous products and killer drugs; health and safety on the job; the Clean Air Act; control over working conditions and avenues of appeal—one after another, are going down under the bipartisan ax.

Far from having a tax cut, as they would have us believe, our taxes will rise. Sales taxes, other local and state taxes, Social Security taxes, payroll taxes—these will rise far above the pittance we're supposed to get back.

The \$46 billion tax break Big Oil will get is another kettle of fish! If you're rich already, you'll come out richer.

And, contrary to the impression Reagan wants to create, the budget deficit will not be eliminated. We're in for larger budget deficits, high interest rates, and crippling inflation.

Real income of U.S. families fell more than 5 percent this year, the biggest decline in 34 years. The number of Americans officially classified as poor rose to 13 percent of the population, compared to 11.7 percent in 1979.

Voting Rights

On the social plane. Affirmative action, school desegregation and busing, bilingual education, voting rights, abortion rights, the environment, and more—they're all on the block for chopping or whittling. The Democrats and Republicans got busy on these matters, too, before Congress adjourned this week.

For example, the compromise agreement allegedly worked out in the House Judiciary Committee to simply extend the Voting Rights Act fell apart. U.S. Rep. Henry J. Hyde—whom many of you remember so fondly from his role in barring Medicaid funding for abortion—announced that he will oppose the extension. So it will not simply breeze through.

Congress didn't lose the chance to deal another blow against women's right to abortion, either. Right before adjourning, the Democratic-controlled House voted by a big majority to bar 3 million government workers and their dependents from using federal health insurance benefits to pay for abortions or abortion-related medical care. This lays the groundwork for deeper cuts in any remaining federal and state funding for abortion that hasn't already been eliminated.

Then there's the restructuring of the top personnel in the federal "regulatory" agencies.

The pattern of the Reagan administration appointments is clear. Look for a guy who despises justice for workers, and make him head of the Justice Department. Look for a guy who supports nuclear power and opposes air-quality control, and put him in charge of the Council on Environmental Quality. Look for a woman who thinks teenagers should not have access to contraceptives and make her head of the Office for Adolescent Pregnancy. Look for a businessman who thinks the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been too tough on employers, and put him in charge of enforcing job equality.

Blessings of 'Authoritarianism'

Or take a guy like Ernest Lefever. He thinks colonial people being killed and tortured by authoritarian regimes friendly to Washington should thank their lucky stars for being saved from "totalitarian" regimes like Cuba and Nicaragua. Reagan wanted to put him in charge of human rights! That one was a little too blatant to get away with, so Secretary of State Haig made him a special consultant on "terrorism." He should know. He's part of the biggest terrorist

machine in history.

In foreign policy, Lefever's views are now the publicly stated policy of the U.S. government. Authoritarianism is today Washington's standard bearer against totalitarianism, which in turn is a code word for revolution. Even the pretense of all-out support for democracy and human rights is dropped.

Washington is using its muscle to block any new treaties having to do with the sea, access to the ocean's resources, and territorial boundaries, which could help the semicolonial countries a little. It's blocking the regulation of selling poisonous or dangerous substances abroad. Whether it's an IUD that kills women, or infant formula that kills babies, or drugs and medicines that have been banned in the United States—Washington backs the U.S. corporations' demand that these deadly but profitable products be allowed on the market abroad and pressed upon unknowing victims.

Washington is still attempting to starve the Indochinese people into submission. It is continuing its economic blockade against Vietnam and Kampuchea; stepping up aid to the Chinese bureaucracy so it can keep up military pressure along the Vietnamese and Laotian borders; and working with Peking, reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia, and the United Nations to back up the Pol Pot murderers.

At the same time, the U.S. government is tightening economic, political, and diplomatic pressures against Nicaragua and Grenada. It is pouring in military aid to the Salvadoran butchers. It is increasing attempts to disrupt revolutionary Cuba.

Backing Apartheid

Reagan's very first foreign policy decision was to withdraw Washington's token food aid to Mozambique. The new administration is standing with the apartheid regime in South Africa, against virtually all humanity, opposing independence for Namibia. It has appointed as U.N. representative a person who openly praises authoritarian governments. She inaugurated her stay at the UN by meeting secretly with a South African military attaché. And the Reagan White House has given merely the mildest slap on the wrist and a wink to its Zionist allies in the Israeli government for their raid on an Iraqi nuclear reactor and bombing of population centers in Lebanon.

All the horrors that have been visited on the vast majority of the world's population by American imperialism—horrors explained time and again by Fidel Castro in speeches at the UN, to the Non-Aligned Movement, to international conferences—are not only being increased, but more openly acknowledged and justified.

These imperialist-perpetuated horrors bring misery to the masses of humanity in every sector of the globe. Last week a demonstration culminated four days of food protests in Lodz, Poland. At the front of the march was a big banner carried by Polish women with the slogan: "Hungry women of the world, unite!" Perhaps most Polish workers don't yet understand how their struggle is connected to what is happening in Central America or elsewhere in the colonial revolution. But this slogan is a universal slogan—a slogan of the oppressed and exploited around the world. And, like the toilers in other countries, the Polish workers are being squeezed by the big imperialist banks, by finance capital.

Fighting 'Crime'

The government is trying to chop away at constitutional rights. They've set up new witchhunt committees to combat "terrorism." They want to take back or weaken concessions such as the Freedom of Information Act they were forced to make as a result of Watergate and subsequent revelations of government crimes. They want to restrict our already minuscule access to the truth about government activities.

Under the banner of the "fight against crime," the White House, Congress, courts, and cops are taking aim at fundamental democratic rights and constitutional protections—habeas corpus rights, rights against illegal search and seizure, protections in the area of evidence, bail rights, protection against preventive detention, and so on. The media and capitalist politicians openly praise reactionary "law and order" vigilantes—from trigger-happy off-duty cops, to the Guardian Angels in New York and other cities.

The Reagan administration is proposing a new immigration law to victimize the foreign-born

and ensure higher profits through intensified superexploitation. It sets up the biggest possible pool of cheap labor for the bosses, including a "guest worker" program for Mexican workers like the notorious "bracero" program of the 1950s. At the same time, it pledges to blast the boats carrying Haitian refugees out of the water.

Reactionary Ideology

All these attacks are accompanied by an increase in reactionary and rightist ideology.

- Open opposition by the most prominent government figures to the Equal Rights Amendment.

- Open opposition to women's right to abortion, and even to the morality of abortion.

- Open opposition to affirmative action as counter-productive "reverse discrimination."

- Open appeals to cops and vigilantes to "shoot first and ask questions later," to advance the "battle against crime."

- Open opposition to human rights as a guide to government conduct in the world.

- Openly racist overtones accompanying foreign-policy stands on Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Israel, South Africa.

- Open support to creationism—at least for equal time to mystify children instead of educating them.



'Under the new standards for air purity, we will in future apply the Watt-Gorsuch test. If you can't feel any lumps in it, it's OK.'

'The restructuring of top personnel in the federal 'regulatory' agencies is a graphic illustration of this sweeping attack on our living conditions.'

Think for a moment about this demand of equal time for opponents of evolution. It's like saying that half the time students spend in chemistry class should be set aside for a guy to come in with a wizard's hat to demonstrate how to make gold out of horse manure!

The book banners and book burners have been emboldened, too—harassing the public schools and libraries. As Marxists, as materialists, we should come to the defense of the so-called secular humanists—which has become the label reactionaries pin on anybody who wants to provide children a decent public education, so that they can at least have access to the scientific knowledge that humanity has amassed over the ages.

The Moral Majority, Ku Kluxers, and every other reactionary outfit have been emboldened by the actions and ideas of the top officials of the strongest imperialist power on the face of the earth. The employers' offensive is at the root of the expansion of rightism and reaction.

We have to absorb the scope, the relentless character, and the rightist aims of the U.S. ruling-class offensive. It takes time for this to sink in. Like other workers, our awareness lags behind the unfolding reality; behind the steady, quantitative buildup of these attacks. Above all, we must not shirk in analyzing and understanding the ruling-class side of the equation—the forces driving them, their aims, their plans, the steps they are taking. We need to look more closely at what necessity drives this forward, and what this means for American politics as a whole. Only then can we point the way forward for the working class to combat it.

A Ten-year, Not 190-Day 'Miracle'

Despite all the press hoopla, this is not a 190-day "miracle" of the Reagan administration. For forty-five years, the rulers have not openly tried to gut the conquests that lifted the American working class a little way out of the abysmal conditions it faced in the early 1930s. American workers won those concessions by their own massive struggles. And the first stage of the ruling-class fight to reverse those conquests wasn't accomplished in 190 days. It didn't begin back in November on the day that Reagan claims the American people voted him a "mandate" to crush them.

This process began at least a decade ago, as the American ruling class entered the 1970s. As the end of the rapid post-World War II accumulation and growing tendencies toward stagnation of the world capitalist economy set in, as Washington reeled under the impact of the defeat in Indochina, the U.S. ruling class was forced to begin charting a course that it would have preferred not to travel—but which it *had* to travel. That course can only lead to taking the American working class head on in combat. The rulers *must* do that. They have no choice.

Three Turning Points

We can point to three turning points in the development of the American rulers' response to the crisis of their world economic system.

The first is symbolized by Nixon's 1971 wage freeze—the first move of this sort by the government against labor since the late 1940s. It came as a stunning and unexpected jolt to American workers and their unions.

The second was ushered in by the 1973 energy crisis and price explosion, and especially by the 1974-75 recession—the first worldwide, synchronized economic downturn since the late 1930s. Unemployment reached its highest levels since the end of the war. Carter came into office in 1976 under the promise of jobs and national health insurance, but the realities of American capitalism determined that his four years in the White House would be marked by further erosion of living standards and attacks on past gains of the workers and oppressed.

What's happening now is a third turning point—the offensive of the Reagan White House backed up by the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives. But what has been opened up by Reagan was prepared by everything that came before it.

I wrote down a list of eighty-seven items that are part of the ruling-class offensive so far. Of these, sixty-four were begun under the Carter administration with Democratic majorities in both the House and Senate. These include the acceleration of the war budget; the beginning of the gutting of affirmative action; escalating attacks on abortion rights; the undoing of aid to

Afro-American studies and bilingual programs; erosion of school desegregation and busing; the eruption of right-wing book banning and censorship; the decision to defeat the ERA.

To these can be added draft registration; the groundwork of the reactionary new immigration policy; the secret restoration of military aid to the Guatemalan military regime; support to the reactionary Salvadoran junta; and the attempts to reverse the Iranian revolution.

Carter and Ford

The great bulk of the attacks now being leveled against the American people were begun under Carter. And they have their roots in the Nixon and Ford administrations.

But these moves were only the beginning. Carter began demanding more and more sacrifices. He explained that more and more belt-tightening would have to take place, that more and more sweaters would have to be worn in the winter as thermostats were turned down, and so on.

So, with taxes and prices going up; with people out of work; with registration for the draft, which most people correctly saw as preparation to try to sneak back into a Vietnam-type war; and with no positive results to counter it—after four years of this, Carter was thrown out. The Republicans came back into the White House.

The ruling class *used* the election to turn a corner it *had* to turn. They could no longer do things piecemeal. Their program could no longer be sugar-coated with so much liberal demagoguery. Now it had to be *driven through*. The reactionary propaganda had to be more out in the open. The ideology had to be brought in harmony with the rightist character of the moves that the capitalists must make.

That is what has begun over the past few months. The only disguises left are the promises. Your taxes *will* go down, even though there'll be some tough times for a while. Big government *will* be decreased and *will* get off your back. Economic growth *will* be possible once more. Inflation *will* be whipped.

The Democrats made a few squeaks about how they would use their majority in the House of Representatives to prevent even a single American from being harmed "unnecessarily." After the past week, you now know what the word "unnecessarily" means to a Democrat. Whatever the dispute over tempo and form, this ruling-class drive is a bipartisan effort.

Changing the Relations between Employers and Employed

What's the deeper economic meaning of the ruling-class program that is being carried out today?

One aspect of it was captured by William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, when he commented that this is not a budget cut, but "a transfer of social services to military services." This is absolutely true. That's shown by the mammoth size of the arms budget; by Pentagon projects from the MX to the Cruise missile to nuclear-strike submarines to new super bombers; by the massive increase in the planned size of the armed forces of the American imperialist army, which requires reinstitution of the draft; by the growth of arms shipments and the dispatch of military "advisers" to Washington's allies from Israel to Argentina, from South Africa to Chile, from Peking to El Salvador.

The rulers *need* all these things to use against the class struggle on a world scale. They're determined to get them, and this means transferring funds from social services to military services. Reagan is planning to spend some \$200 billion between now and 1986 on strategic nuclear forces alone.

But this is not the only meaning of the rulers' austerity drive. And it's not the key meaning.

It's not just a cut in the welfare budget to enable big increases in the warfare budget. The goal of the U.S. ruling class is not a world war with the Soviet Union. They want to boost their profits, not incinerate themselves.

The goal, above all else, is to *transform the relations between capital and labor in this country*. To transform the relations on the job. To drive down both workers' direct wages and the socialized wages that workers have fought for and won—social programs, schools, welfare benefits, and so on. To drive *up* the rate of exploitation. To drive *down* the conditions of the working

class. To *divide* the working class. And to *weaken*, and eventually break, the potentially powerful unions that stand in the way of the rulers' accomplishing these reactionary goals.

Historical Crisis

The problem facing the U.S. capitalist class is a historical problem. The factors that enabled them to go through a massive economic expansion during the quarter century following World War II *have now run out*.

So, the capitalist class must now radically transform the relationship of forces between itself and the working class that was based on that prolonged expansion, on a certain type of accumulation of capital.

This is what's involved. Not only chipping away at the New Deal. Not only being stingy to 5 or 10 percent of the most oppressed. Instead, the rulers are driven to raise the general level of human misery, to traumatize the working class, to divide and atomize it, to demoralize it and crush its confidence and fighting capacities.

They must increase the rate of exploitation of labor. This is what the capitalists must achieve in order to restructure and reorganize industry to compete profitably on a world scale. They have no options on this fundamental course. It's a matter of necessity for them. They are in a



'Whatever the dispute over tempo and form, this ruling-class drive is a bipartisan effort.'

weakening position on a world scale compared to the period of the post-war expansion. They must drive to turn that situation around and open an entire new period of rapid expansion, accumulation, and profits.

Showdown Coming

There is nothing that can stop or reverse this antilabor drive—whatever the conjunctural ups and downs, stops and starts—short of a showdown with the U.S. working class. They intend to chart a course to defeat all obstacles in their way, chief among them the undefeated American workers and their unions.

Restructuring every single social relation. This is what the capitalists mean when they talk about the need to reverse the whole pattern of assumptions, relations, expectations, and goals associated with the rise of the New Deal and the gigantic labor battles that gave birth to the CIO and industrial unionism.

That's the meaning of the Chrysler model, of the drive to wipe out jobs on Conrail and Amtrak, of the efforts to reestablish homework in the textile and garment industries. It's why the bosses are so determined to beat back the United Mine Workers, and why the revolution in that union a decade ago has helped make it such a roadblock in their way. It explains the blows being dealt to rubber workers, steel workers, workers in the oil and chemical industries, government and public employees.

That is Washington's program—not lower taxes, not less inflation, not more jobs.

Dismantling Big Government?

What about Reagan's promise to dismantle big government? To get big government off our backs?

Well, the capitalists will dismantle the maximum possible government programs that improve the quality of life and living standards of working people. *That* they will try to do. They'll try to dismantle what the workers and oppressed have won.

And they'll have to do it *openly*; what they're after is too big to hide. Once they begin making proposals to cut Social Security benefits and raise the retirement age, no fig leaf is big enough to hide their aims.

Throughout the past decade we've explained that there would be no fundamental reversal of the changing attitudes and developing combativity among U.S. working people, since the capitalists couldn't offer any major new concessions. We almost always used Social Security as an example of the type of concession wrested by workers in the 1930s that couldn't be won in the 1970s and 1980s. American capitalism had exhausted its capacity to grant such major concessions, so that the coming battles would take place over much more decisive questions.

Today, we can not only confirm this prognosis, but go further. It's not a question of wresting another major social concession like Social Security—for instance, sweeping government health insurance. The question is whether we can *save* the concessions we've already won, including a meaningful Social Security system. That's what is being posed to the American people.

But this dismantling of social welfare programs will not weaken the capitalist state or decrease the size of "big government." To the contrary, the scope of government activity is going to *increase*.

Even more than today, Washington is going to be in the welfare business *for* business—for *big* business.

There will be more grants and tax bonanzas for research and development.

The government will socialize massive losses by sectors of industry, like Chrysler. And then, when the enterprise is no longer viable, let the plants shut down or move, leaving the workers in the lurch.

Washington will prop up U.S. business through so-called foreign aid. That is, it will grant credits to foreign governments through international financial institutions on the condition that the recipients import U.S. goods, including massively expensive modern weapons, and pay their blood money—called interest—to the imperialist banks.

Health and Safety

Washington is also altering the enforcement of labor legislation, health and safety laws, and environmental regulations. Reagan has targeted some thirty federal regulations for the scrap heap



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

already—on the lead content of gasoline, on enforcement of equal opportunity hiring, on protection against sexual harassment on the job, on protection of the rights of the handicapped, on the testing of pesticides and other chemicals and medicines, on the licensing of new nuclear reactors. Everything possible to aid American big business. Everything to use American size and power to help it compete on the world market and increase its profits. Such programs will be an ever-bigger part of the budget.

There's a second aspect of big government that is not going to get smaller. That's the steady evolution, the built-in tendency toward stronger executive power, toward more centralism in the capitalist state. The logic of this leads inexorably toward a stronger police apparatus, Bonapartism, military dictatorship. It leads toward rightist and fascist movements, as the ruling class exhausts other options for resolving the crisis of its system.

When the capitalists move toward greater authoritarian and totalitarian modes of rule, this is not a sign of their strength, but of their weakness. This is not most fundamentally a "strong" state, but a state based on a weakened economy. It is in response to a shift in the relationship of class forces to the detriment of the ruling class—a shift they have to try to stop by any means necessary. The old modes of rule, although more efficient and stable, no longer suffice.

We can see elements of this in relation to the capitalist austerity drive. What *must* go along with this antilabor campaign, as working class resistance increases, is the *direct use of the state itself*—the growing use of the employers' monopoly of the government—to intervene into the class struggle and throw that power onto the

'The need for independent labor political action is the question of questions. Because all questions become political questions. If you're under attack, the place you think about demonstrating is in Washington, and your demands are directed at the government.'

scales on the side of capital. Far from decreasing on a world scale, the capitalists will resort to this more and more—against the right to strike, against union democracy, against rebellions from Miami to Liverpool.

The rulers will seek to justify every war-related expenditure or new move such as draft registration. They will justify more money for the police and more attacks on civil rights and civil liberties by pointing to the need to "fight crime." They will seek to bolster the FBI and CIA and free their hands for whatever they need to do. They'll roll back "guarantees" to privacy and freedom of information that were wrested from them in the wake of Watergate. They will chop away at the Bill of Rights more and more often, invoking the needs of "national security," "state secrets," and "informer privilege"—everything we went through during the trial of our case, only generalized for the entire population.

A recent editorial in the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, chastised us for not using the "case as a vehicle for educating the American people in . . . the intelligence community's ugly 'mode of governance.'" Well, what our case *did* help

educate many people about—and what the next few years of experience in the class struggle will convince many more millions of people about—is that the "ugly mode of governance" in this country is increasingly becoming not the abuses or extravagance of certain "outlaw" intelligence agencies, but *the normal mode of governance by the U.S. capitalist class*.

The bosses cannot launch the kind of austerity offensive they have begun against American labor and the oppressed without organizing systematically to decrease workers' *rights* to organize and fight back. They cannot launch such a fight without giving an ideological boost to rightist forces that want to lash out *against* unions, *against* Blacks and women, *against* rebellious youth, *against* socialists. Whatever the extent of their initial intentions, whatever the initial degree of control they do or do not have over these groups, the rulers foster and nurture their hate mongering and terror.

This aspect of the state will not grow smaller. This aspect of big government will not get off your back—not by a long shot! Because it's only along this road that the capitalists can carry out their *economic* plans. The assault on political rights is the necessary counterpart of the austerity offensive.

Washington's Foreign Policy

What about the world political framework in which all this takes place?

The relations between classes here at home are an integral part of class relations on a world scale, just as foreign policy fundamentally reflects ruling-class domestic policy.

Those who govern like to hide this fact of the class struggle. They like to pretend that while they're often forced to act in particularly harsh

ways abroad, and to prop up bloody dictators, this calculated brutality has nothing to do with how they act at home.

We know that this is not true. What the rulers do abroad is an extension of what they're trying to do at home. What they do to the workers and farmers in other countries is a harbinger of what they have in store for working people in this country.

So far, the American rulers have driven forward a relentless and powerful offensive against the rights and living conditions of the world's toilers. The roster of victims is growing on every continent. But these blows are not being dealt by a class on the rise. These are moves from weakness. They are moves from basic economic necessity, and they are being made without the reserves and options that enable tactical flexibility to minimize and often contain social explosions and rebellions. The rulers fear the inevitable results of their offensive, but know they can't avoid or control these results.

The offensive by the U.S. capitalist class is being carried out in competition, not total harmony, with the ruling classes of other imperialist countries. All of them share similar problems, and each ultimately puts its own needs first and foremost.

Allies Have Problems

The British ruling class has to worry about Ireland, about the rebellions in Birmingham and Liverpool, about what's happening in the Labour Party and the trade unions, about public opinion on American nuclear missiles in Britain. It has to worry about the continual decline of its competitive position in the world market and its outmoded industrial base.

The French ruling class has a new problem, symbolized by the election of Mitterrand. The Canadian ruling class has new problems. The German rulers have their own growing problems—often caused by American "successes."

Right in the middle of this week of great victory for Reagan, for example, the German government announced that it was going to have to back off from its agreement with Washington on the rate of increase of its military budget. American interest rates and the new "strength of the dollar" were given as the cause. Unspoken was the opposition, including in Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party, to German participation in the new American nuclear push.

Reagan was disappointed. And he will have other disappointments. Mass opposition to Washington's demand that its European and Japanese allies pick up more of the tab for policing the world is growing in all these countries. There have been mass protests against the neutron bomb, against NATO, and against new nuclear missile sites in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, Greece, and Scandinavia. The rulers of these countries have to worry about this.

No, it's not an offensive based on strength and economic health. It's not an offensive of a class on the rise, but of a class in decline. A class without the agility and flexibility it needs to make its way through the minefield ahead. But it's a brutal and powerfully armed class.

Washington's Militarization Drive

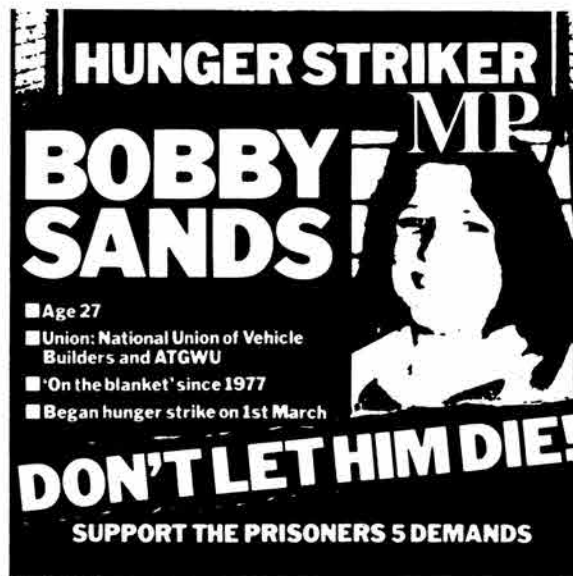
We should also look at the militarization drive of U.S. imperialism. There is a lot of confusion about this among radicals in this country.

One source of this confusion is the tendency of these petty-bourgeois currents on the left to become transfixed by some of the setbacks suffered by workers over the past few years, such as in Turkey, and to a lesser extent, Spain. The offensive by Thatcher and Reagan, and the escalation of military operations by Begin, can be included as factors along these lines, as well.

Overall, however, the world balance of class forces—as noted at the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International—continues to shift in favor of the working people. The French workers' sweeping vote for Mitterrand is a reflection of this fact.

American imperialism's capacity to launch a war has been *pushed back* over the past decade.

The defeat of Washington in Indochina, the liberation of Angola and Mozambique from colonial rule, the victories by the Nicaraguan and Grenadian workers and farmers, the overthrow of the shah by the Iranian revolution, the mobilizations and revolutionary advances in Cuba, the extension of the Vietnamese socialist revolution and the further revolutionary advances in Kam-



Ireland



Polish miners



Grenada



Britain

'The same process is happening on a world scale. From Nicaragua to Poland, from South Africa to Liverpool, from Grenada to Maze Prison in Ireland—young fighters, young workers are coming forward.

'We become one with this generation of young workers. We learn with them.'

pucha and Laos, the defeat of the U.S.-inspired invasion of Vietnam by Peking—all of these events have politically *pushed back* the ability of the U.S. rulers to make war.

First Strike

Washington's escalating nuclear arms expenditures, deployment of new weapons, and development of new missile systems pose a heinous danger for humanity. These moves demonstrate for all to see that the drive for a first-strike capacity, which would make possible a "successful" nuclear war against the USSR and other workers states, remains the historic logic of decaying capitalism and the long-term goal of the capitalist rulers.

The Reagan administration is seeking to take new strides in this direction when it projects the need for major new arms spending to achieve "strategic superiority." Certain liberal critics of Reagan argue against the concept of "strategic superiority," saying that the only realistic goal is to maintain "strategic equivalence" with the Soviet Union.

There is no fundamental difference over nuclear strategy in the ruling class and its two parties, however. Both "strategic superiority" and "equivalence" express aspects of their overall goal of containing and eventually rolling back the world revolution.

"Equivalence" expresses the rulers' sober recognition of the mutual destructive capacities of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, as well as the technological difficulties and enormous expenditures of resources necessary to actually achieve and maintain a first-strike capacity. The capitalist ruling class makes decisions on its nuclear arsenal with the same cold-blooded class calculation that it puts into foreign and domestic policy decisions in general. How far it can go toward achieving its long-term historic goal of first-strike hegemony at any given time is limited by the balance of class forces in this country and world-wide; and by its ability to release the enormous resources needed, which cut deep into capitalist accumulation at a time when they are stretched already. Varying estimates over this can and do lead to sharp tactical differences over nuclear policy—with Washington's imperialist allies and within the U.S. ruling class itself.

The term "strategic superiority" signifies the efforts by the rulers to devote as many resources as possible to the expansion, upgrading, and diversification of their nuclear arsenal, with the ultimate goal of getting into position to use it.

Arms Spending

Neither perspective involves cutting back arms spending. The bottom line for *both* is continuing massive expenditures on nuclear weapons of destruction and the perpetual drive to develop and deploy new death-dealing weapons systems.

Despite this, however, the world situation today is *not* like the late 1940s and early 1950s, when the prospect of a war with the Soviet Union was an imminent danger.

But the determination of the U.S. rulers to restore their ability to carry out new Vietnam-type wars is a real source of war danger right now. They are hell-bent on reconquering their ability to use their massive military power to stop the advance of the world revolution. To say "No!" to further gains for the oppressed and exploited.

And the fact that this effort takes place within the technological framework of mutually assured nuclear destruction makes the fight against this militarization drive all the more important to every thinking worker.

Obstacles to Aggression

Since its defeat in Indochina, Washington has had to forego the large-scale direct use of its own military force. The rulers have had to look for other ways, which are inevitably less potent and effective.

They have cemented diplomatic relations with the Chinese bureaucracy, and through Peking kept up pressure on the Vietnamese. But Peking's invasion in 1979 was defeated—a fiasco that the Chinese Stalinists don't want to repeat too soon.

Washington's plans are increasingly stymied by divisions among its NATO allies and antimilitarist sentiment in Europe and Japan. The political utility of its relations with the South African and Israeli regimes is complicated by the broad public abhorrence in the imperialist countries of moves such as the Zionists' raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Baghdad—Begin's "first-

strike" example—or the apartheid regime's attacks on Angola and Mozambique.

The U.S. rulers need to be able to use *their own military power*—first and foremost in Central America, but also in the Middle East and throughout the semicolonial world.

But their problem is *how* to accomplish this. It's much harder to do when masses of people in this country are antinuclear power as opposed to pro-bomb shelter.

We have to gauge not only the brute power and intentions of the rulers, the *necessity* they face to restore their capacity to intervene with direct U.S. military power against the world class struggle; we also have to assess the big changes that have occurred in this country over the past decade or so.

When many of us were kids, air-raid drills were standard. You talked about how your family couldn't afford a bomb shelter, but you knew where one was in the neighborhood or someplace in the city.

I remember hunching beneath my desk at school during air-raid drills and covering my head. I didn't know that this wouldn't be so useful if the real thing came to pass!

Kids today of the same age are marching in antinuclear demonstrations. And they are opposed to the draft.

Soviet Syndrome

The rulers need to push back these large and growing antinuke attitudes. People aren't mollified by talk of dependable bomb shelters any more. Seventeen years ago, presidential candidate Barry Goldwater could get away with saying, just elect me and I'll lob a nuke into the men's room at the Kremlin. A capitalist politician couldn't get away with saying that today.

The "Vietnam syndrome" is not the deepest antiwar syndrome among the American people. The deepest one is the "Soviet syndrome"—the fear that war with the Soviet Union would mean a nuclear holocaust. The American people know that winning such a war is not possible. If that war occurs, we all get blown up. It's that simple. That's a very big fact of life—a fact that will remain a given from now until the American socialist revolution. That will only be changed when the American workers take power out of the hands of the capitalist atomaniacs and establish a workers government.

We can't afford any fatalism or despair on the question of war, like so many radicals are exhibiting today. *Right now the war is still over Washington's ability to make war.* And it is a political war on a world scale. Ultimately the decisive battleground is the *class battle* taking place right here at home, now. A battle between the U.S. government and the American people.

Take El Salvador, for example. Washington is still hesitant about bringing home the first U.S. military advisor from there in a wooden box. Government officials still go out of their way to stress that U.S. advisors there stay away from combat. They won't even bring home a colonel with his arm in a sling to see if they can whip up some patriotic hurrah. I'm not saying they won't do it, but they haven't done it so far.

Not Simply Technical

The question of war is not simply a *technical* question. It's fundamentally a *political* question, a *class* question.

The rulers are *determined* to restore their capacity to wage war against the rebellious peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are *determined* to restore the draft. They're going to keep pushing on it. They're not going to back off.

But there will be a fight each step of the way, and each fight changes the character of the broader battle. The outcome is not settled until the battle is over. That is what's before us and the rest of our class. How far the rulers get will be determined by the class struggle.

Great Divider, Great Unifier

Capitalism and imperialism are the great dividers. The capitalist rulers divide us by age, by skill, by sex, by nationality, by religion, by color, and by any other way they can. On a day-to-day basis, they use these divisions to preserve their rule more than they use direct force.

But the capitalists also do something else. Because all toilers are exploited and oppressed by the capitalists, they end up at the same time driving us back together. Their cutbacks, their union-busting, their assault on equality and democratic rights, their drive to restore the draft

and get into new Vietnams—all these fronts of the capitalist offensive tend to bring us together, to unite, to promote solidarity.

It's not just the "welfare cheats," or that lazy bum down the street, or the people on the other side of town that are being shafted—it's *us*. It's our own brother-in-law who hasn't held down a steady job in two years—a good, Christian, hard-working fella. They're shutting down the plant and closing up the hospital. They're trying to send us (or our kids) off to another war.

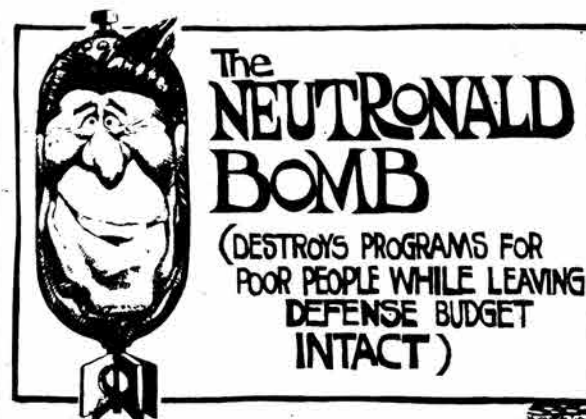
So divisions start being erased. You start not minding having some anti-warriors, or Black nationalists, or "women's libbers," or honky job trusters out on the demonstration with you. That's beginning to happen—under the hammerblows of the capitalists.

This scares the ruling class. They sense it, and it frightens them. We have seen a very real human caricature of that fear.

Haig—In Control?

Who is the person that the rulers have put forward as the personification of the uncompromising military stance of the new American empire? General Alexander Haig—the new administration's Secretary of State. A general in the State Department—a NATO man. It was clear from the beginning what he was supposed to stand for. What he was supposed to symbolize.

I submit that the man is terrified. Did you



'They are hell-bent on reconquering their ability to use their massive military power to stop the advance of the world revolution.'

watch him on television the day Reagan was shot? Did you see the sweat on his lip as he stared into the camera, his voice quavering: "I'm in charge here."

Think about the confident, competent, established capitalist politicians in the period of the *rise* of their class. How they presented themselves. How they functioned. And then watch this current outfit closely as they try to fake it, as they *probe* the working class in this country and on a world scale. Watch the Secretary of State get up within a few inches of the television camera, sweat pouring down his face, and say, "I'm in charge here."

And remember that this is the person who is supposed to exude the confidence of those who claim the right and the capacity to rule this country and dominate the world. Then you will understand a little bit more of the truth about what's changing.

The Mandate that Wasn't

What about the real attitudes among the American people?

Despite his public relations claims, the *last thing* Reagan has is a popular mandate for what he is doing.

In addition to our own direct experience on and off the job, this fact is verified by the opinion polls that the bourgeoisie publishes in its newspapers.

"Americans haven't made ideological tilt to right" was the headline on a typical article that appeared in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* this week. "The general assumption has been that the American people have moved sharply to the right," the article said, "and are determined to give President Reagan a blank check to pursue a policy of conservatism."

"The latest Harris Survey indicates there is no such mandate or ideological tilt."

This has been shown in polls on anti-Semitism, on readiness for war, and another recent Harris Survey that found 36 percent of those interviewed having a positive rather than negative response to the Socialist Party victory in France. These are political attitudes of the *politically* conscious people who continue to prefer more, not fewer rights.

The American people have more progressive views on social questions today, too. They are more sensitive to equality and solidarity. We are being pushed together.

More and more people are beginning to see that the elderly aren't just the elderly; that the sick aren't just the sick; that the handicapped aren't just the handicapped. That we share a common humanity. Not only that we are all being shafted by the government and big business, but that we all get sick, we all get old, we all will have this or that handicap.

The common humanity of those whose rights, living conditions, and dignity are under attack comes more and more into conflict with the horrible *inhumanity* of the most brutal ruling class in history. And this, too, deeply affects consciousness. It creates problems for the rulers.

It's not a sign of strength that Washington today seeks to justify arming its allies in the name of authoritarianism as opposed to democracy. The American workers don't cotton to authoritarian government over them. They're not looking at Argentina or Chile as a place to settle down.

But the needs of the ruling class at home and abroad are so sweeping that it openly has to say that what it does on the foreign policy level is not done in the name of democracy or human rights, but more and more out of the necessity to keep good relations with "our" authoritarian allies. They try to convince us about all the *good* qualities of these dictators!

Unpopular Policy

But Washington doesn't have an easy job ahead of it in attempting to find a way to justify support for brutal capitalist regimes such as the military junta in El Salvador. Today's generation of workers either went through the Vietnam War, or have grown up knowing that they don't want to go through another one. They remember the demonstrators who used to chant, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" And now on television they watch the graves of the nuns being unearthed in El Salvador, and they are suspicious as hell when liars like Haig try to squirm out of responsibility.

Reagan's vaunted popularity is a fake, a creation of the kept press. And the more the blows

come down, the more the reality of the "Reagan revolution" will galvanize opposition in the American working class. The stakes get bigger and bigger the more the rulers are forced to openly state their plans in regard to social services, security, jobs, wages, and democratic rights.

Role of the Democrats

This is where the role of the Democratic Party comes in. I referred to a headline earlier saying that the Democrats are breathing easier. After knuckling under on Reagan's budget and tax proposals, the article said, the Democrats had regrouped; they were saying they would have the last laugh, since the blame for the unpopular cuts would fall on the Republicans. That's oversimplified. The Republicans won't be popular as the cuts come down, but the Democrats won't be breathing that much easier either. Because moves to gut the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society—in short, the gutting even of any pretense that workers are going to get what they've come to expect are their rights—is also the beginning of the gutting of the Democratic Party.

We've often used the term "lesser evilism" to explain why most workers vote Democratic. We explain why it's not effective to support the Democrats as a "lesser evil."

Actually, however, that's not why most people who have voted for Democrats did so. *Radicals* who wanted to justify voting Democrat always said they were doing it as a lesser evil; that's how they explained their class-collaborationist strategy.

But the average person who voted for the Democrats thought of them as some kind of a "good," not an "evil," lesser or greater. It was the party that stood for social legislation. It was the party that stood for concessions to labor. It was the party of jobs. Leave aside how accurate this perception was—this was what many people believed.

And there was a seeming element of truth. Through sweeping struggles by workers in the 1930s and 1940s, and by Blacks in the 1950s and 1960s, and on the basis of the postwar economic growth and expansion, concessions had been won. A structure of social rights had been established, along with legislation and agencies charged with enforcing these laws. This was part of the post-New Deal reality. And as long as capitalism was expanding, liberal Democrats postured as supporters of this course, as "friends of labor."

But there's a transition now under way. Capitalism no longer has the fat for concessions. And the Democrats are stuck. They control the House of Representatives. The massive majorities in the House for the cutbacks and tax frauds are *Democratic* majorities.

The explanation that this will backfire only on the Republicans, since everyone will know who's responsible, is just whistling past a graveyard. Who's responsible is *who enacts* these reactionary programs. And that's both parties, as all can see.

More and more workers will begin to point a finger at both the Democrats and Republicans and say, "Well, if you can't afford Social Security, then maybe those people are right who say we can't afford capitalism."

A System in Decay

Growing numbers of people in this country sense that they're in the midst of the breakdown of the social system in this country—the breakdown of capitalism, whether they use the term or not. It's not just what is *in store* for us; it's what's beginning to *happen*. People aren't so sure any more that, "It can't happen here."

As the system rots, reaction oozes from its pores. The new rise in anti-Semitic incidents. Ku Kluxers gunning down peaceful picketers while television cameras roll. Killings by cops. The increasing use of torture on a world scale by Washington's allies.

These things can't be hidden from view. More and more Americans are getting a glimpse of the human toll exacted by a system and a form of government that put profits ahead of people.

Isn't there greater willingness today to believe Fidel Castro when he explains in detail, as he did in his speech July 26, how the U.S. government has introduced deadly diseases over the past twenty years to kill crops, livestock, and *people* in Cuba? How many people in this country would have believed there was any truth to such a

charge twenty-five years ago? But today, the great bulk of humanity believes it, and growing numbers of people in this country do, too—or at least are willing to consider the facts.

People got quite a jolt from the congressional inquiries after Watergate, when the rulers let out some of the truth in hopes of convincing us that they were hanging out all the dirty linen. They were going to start fresh with a "new" FBI and CIA. The revelations that came out in the process—although only the tip of the iceberg—were eye-openers.

Biological War

The Rockefeller Commission, for example, revealed that the CIA was responsible for the first introduction of African Swine Fever into the Western Hemisphere—into Cuba. Fidel devoted the first half of his July 26 speech to reading from these official U.S. reports. Then he suggested that Washington could well be responsible for introducing Dengue Fever into Cuba, which has reached epidemic levels and taken scores of lives there this year.

More people today are willing to believe that this government is capable of such heinous crimes. And this makes them wonder, somewhere in the back of their minds, what lengths the government will go to in order to get what it wants here at home.

There is greater questioning than ever before



National Black Independent Political Party symbol

'The NBIPP sets an example of both thinking socially and acting politically. It helps point a way forward for the entire working class. It names the enemy.'

about both the domestic and foreign policies of the U.S. government. There is greater skepticism about the credibility of Democratic and Republican politicians. Greater openness to the idea that the bipartisan policies coming out of Washington have more to do with the interests of big oil than with yours and mine.

These attitudes have not been reversed. And they'll deepen as the Reagan offensive accelerates.

Think Socially, Act Politically

The need for independent labor political action is the question of questions in the context of this multi-faceted ruling-class assault. Because, as this offensive deepens, all questions become *political* questions. If you're under attack, the place you think about demonstrating is in Washington, and your demands are directed at the government. Thus, the monopoly the employers have on political parties in this country has a contradictory character for them. As the capitalist crisis has intensified, the character of the Democratic Party as a bosses' party has become more open. Starting with Carter, and now during the opening months of Reagan, it's been like stripping off clothes layer by layer. If you go far enough, you end up with the naked fact of one capitalist party—of a bipartisan antilabor onslaught.

All the big questions facing workers—war, jobs, inflation, equality, nuclear radiation, democratic rights—are *political* questions; and they require *political* answers. But American workers have no political vehicle to fight for these solutions. They remain hitched to the two-party system that they increasingly believe is incapable of delivering *for them*—while it continues to deliver heavier and heavier blows *to them*. The resulting pressures build toward explosive contradictions in the current political set-up.

Bureaucrats: No Answer

This creates a big problem for the labor bureaucracy at all levels. Because they *have no answers*, no long-term political answers whatsoever.

What's facing the workers is crystal clear. Chrysler is the bosses' model, and it's just the first stage. When the bosses get that, they demand *more* givebacks.

Every new development like the Chrysler settlement, every round of devastating plant shut-downs like those in Youngstown, Ohio, are aimed at intimidating and demoralizing the entire working class. With the acceptance of the capitalist framework, with no *political* perspective for a fightback, and with no working-class alternative policies, workers are browbeaten into accepting capitalism's "lesser evil"—a wage cut or *no job at all*, longer hours or a *plant shut-down*.

The employers and their spokespeople are more and more open about their aims in this regard, too. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, for example, recently ran a short interview with the president of a small steelmaking outfit called Copperweld Steel. He said that his company had benefited substantially from the massive steel plant closings in and around nearby Youngstown. Copperweld didn't gain any new markets or contacts because of the closings—that's not how it benefited. Instead, he said:

"The closings were an object lesson [to the workers] in what happens when companies fail to reinvest, and their workers do not contribute to increased profitability."

Columnist William Safire made a similar point recently, pointing to the road charted by the Tory government in Britain as a model for government policy toward workers here in the United States. The column was headlined, "To wring out inflation, you need a wringer."

What They Must Do

As a result of the massive unemployment and plant shutdowns in Britain over the past few years, Safire wrote, "Workers, having learned that work is an opportunity and not an entitlement, have responded with fewer strikes and higher productivity."

That's what the bosses are after. That's what they *must* do if they are to achieve their goals and raise their profit levels. That's what the government and two capitalist parties intend to *help* the bosses do. And the solutions workers need—a shorter workweek, nationalization of plants that are shut down, and so on—require *political* action. They demand radical *political*

solutions that put workers' class interests before the maintenance of profits and the capitalist system.

But the labor bureaucracy tries, above all, to prevent workers from seeing that their situation is fundamentally the product of an economic system in crisis and that the only way out is a political struggle. Because if the Democrats are nervous about what's coming, and they are, those who have led labor into its current dead end are much more nervous.

The crisis of the Democratic Party means a crisis of the labor bureaucracy's entire, bankrupt, class-collaborationist strategy. Their whole world has been tied up with the Democrats' capacity to deliver some concessions, in return for which the officials deliver some votes and a lot of "responsible cooperation." That's been the be-all and end-all of trade union politics for decades.

But now the Democrats can't and won't deliver—even a few crumbs. Things are being taken back. There is growing anger and dissatisfaction in the ranks. The bureaucrats feel an earth tremor building up beneath them, and they don't know what to do about it. The old ways no longer work.

To the best of their ability, they try to keep issues narrow, immediate, spontaneous. Let off steam. Don't talk about the big political questions, even if they're right in front of you. Avoid the broader social issues as they more and more force their way into the open everywhere. Try to keep the ranks under control, especially the young workers. Rein them in.

But this perspective increasingly comes in conflict with the way the class struggle itself poses the questions. The necessary line of march of the American workers, the pressing need to think socially and act politically, becomes clearer and clearer. It keeps pushing its way to the surface.

Black Party

It's *this* that makes a formation such as the National Black Independent Political Party so important to all working people. The importance of the NBIPP is not only how far it's already come, but also in the broader political situation in which it is developing. It is a political vanguard whose very existence can raise the level of debate and discussion. Its development will pose the idea that the labor movement should do what it's doing—form its own party, an independent party.

The NBIPP sets an example of both thinking socially and acting politically. It helps point a way forward for the entire working class. It names the enemy.

There has never been a time when it has been more necessary to absorb what Lenin taught about the proletarian party being a *tribune of the people*—explaining how every concrete problem workers face is a reflection of big political issues; explaining the need for the workers to break from political subordination to the capitalists, to form their own party, to govern.

Question of Questions

This is the question of questions. This is what we need to find ways of explaining week after week—creatively, from different angles, from different starting points. Thinking socially and acting politically comes up around scores of things that happen on the job, in every community, from coast to coast. This is what talking socialism is all about.

International issues are totally tied up with this perspective. Everything that happens abroad becomes part of what happens here, and vice-versa. The world gets smaller, not larger. Workers become more interested in world politics, not less—because it affects their lives more and more. The question of war and the economy—these are international issues that are part of our lives day in and day out.

Even the idea of a labor party automatically raises the question not only of what its domestic policy is going to be, but also of what its foreign policy is going to be. Labor has to have its own foreign policy, different from the foreign policy of the big-business parties it has broken from. A labor party is not going to have a different policy on Social Security from the Democrats, but the same policy on war in El Salvador. The workers who will drive forward the fight for a labor party have no interest in that in any way, shape, or form. They'll hammer out labor's own foreign

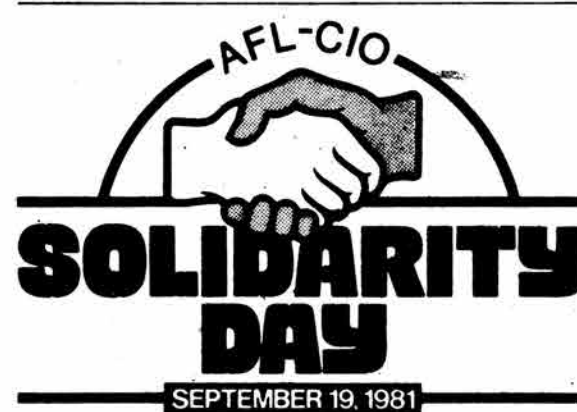
policy—an antiwar foreign policy, an internationalist and anti-imperialist foreign policy, working-class solidarity on the world arena.

Americanizing The Party

At various points in our history, we've sometimes spoken about the need to Americanize the Socialist Workers Party. That's still true, but it has never meant what it might sound like to a good old boy or law-and-order patriot. To Americanize the SWP means to internationalize it; to Afro-Americanize it; to feminize it; to Spanishize it. That's the only way the SWP can be a party of the American workers in 1981.

Reagan has opened a frontal assault on bilingual education, on the right and necessity to learn Spanish in the United States today, and on the rights of Spanish-speaking workers in this country. Well, we're heading in the opposite direction. We're determined to continue our efforts to make this a bilingual party, a party that can speak to the growing section of our class that is Spanish-speaking.

As we deepen our turn to industry, our party will increasingly become Afro-Americanized, feminized, Spanishized. It will become even more of an internationalist party. Worker to worker, we will learn from fellow revolutionists from Cuba to Britain, from South Africa to Japan, from Grenada to Vietnam. It will have growing links with Mexican and Canadian workers. That's the only



'Solidarity Day brings together organizations that symbolize and represent the victims of Washington's onslaught. It will give a boost to social thinking in the working class and to the idea of acting politically.'

way it can be a party of the vanguard of the American workers.

The American left has been so damned Americanized throughout the last half-century—Americanized in the narrow sense—that this has been a source of opportunism, of American exceptionalism. Marx and Engels recognized both sides of this problem back in the last century. The American Marxists were either too German or too American—they weren't internationalists. To build a revolutionary workers party in this country, above all, it has to be internationalist.

If you take a close look at what the ruling class and the right-wingers are pounding away at, you will see the *mirror image* of everything that we must do to draw our class together, to overcome the divisions the class enemy tries to deepen and exploit. To strengthen solidarity, to unite in common actions, to break from the political subordination to the parties and perspectives of our exploiters and oppressors.

September 19 Solidarity Day

I heard some good news just before I came up here to the podium. The comrades from the International Marxist Group in Britain told me that on the very same day as the September 19 Solidarity Day March on Washington, called by the AFL-CIO, there will also be a massive Labour Party march against unemployment in the British industrial city of Birmingham.

This Solidarity Day march is the most important single action that we will be involved in immediately coming out of this convention.

The call for this demonstration by the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, and other groups comes in response to the unrelenting blows of the ruling class. It's a reflex action. You don't just get pushed, you push back. You *have* to push back to survive—even to survive between a rock and a hard place, like the labor bureaucracy.

This is the first time in its history that the AFL-CIO has ever called a mass national demonstration. But while it's exceptional, it didn't come out of the blue. It would be a mistake not to see how it comes out of the continuity of the past year.

Don't forget the black lung march in Washington by the United Mine Workers last spring, or the April 29 demonstration of 20,000 railworkers. Don't forget the Labor Safe Energy Conference and the Harrisburg antinuclear march. Don't forget the miners' strike battle itself. Don't forget the May 3 antiwar march, or the Martin Luther King Day demonstration last January. Or all the local actions and strikes, such as the one out in San Jose recently demanding equal pay for women workers.

This has been the response to Reagan's offensive, so far.

The Democratic politicians are still oblivious. They are not in a state of near panic like part of the labor officialdom. They don't have the capacity, both for class and historical reasons, to grasp what's happening to them. Nor do they feel the same direct pressure. They've lost some labor support before, and gotten it back. They've lost some farm support before, and gotten it back. They've gained some women's support. It changes back and forth. What they count on is that there will still be two parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. One's in, one's out. Then they change places.

To the capitalist politicians, it seems like the cycle of the seasons. They put on a charade, vote to shaft the whole world's population, go home and have a couple of drinks, and come back the next day to hold a press conference. And they think it can go on forever.

Watch even the ones that are supposed to be shrewd politicians, like Edward Kennedy. What does he have to say about this onslaught by Congress and the White House? Nothing, except that it's "terrible." If he were there he wouldn't let it happen. Nothing else. He has no answers, and not many worries, either. He assumes he will always be able to find a way out, no matter what happens.

Meaning of Solidarity Day

But that's not true for the American labor officialdom. The heat they feel is more direct, more intense. The crisis of the Democrats is *their* crisis, a crisis of *their* bankrupt political strategy. It is no longer working, and they have no alternative. But they're still standing as an obstacle on the road toward a *break* from the Democratic Party. They are standing in the road blocking labor's next necessary step—the move

labor must make if it is not going to be driven backward, let alone move forward.

That's why everything that we do and write in connection with September 19—a mass action against the government and its bipartisan policies—has to be centered on explaining the need for a labor party. The fact that this action is sponsored not only by the unions, but by civil rights and women's rights organizations, is a further strength, a step forward. We want to point in *that* direction.

We will be involved in building participation in September 19 through our unions, in collaboration with the NBIPP and NOW chapters, working with the NAACP, antiwar groups, and so on. And we'll be talking to co-workers about it, urging them to come, drawing the lessons, discussing what to do next, how to follow up.

Solidarity and independent labor political action—these are the axes of the conclusions we need to help our class draw from this action. Solidarity—unifying ourselves in common activities to fight back. And raising that solidarity to the *political* plane—ripping the monopoly over politics and government out of the hands of the capitalists before they rip away the life of humanity.

There was a short passage in the "Month in Review" column in the August *International Socialist Review* that bears repeating over and over again when you're talking with co-workers and other people about the offensive and about Solidarity Day. "It takes time for the scope of the attacks to sink in," the article said. "Budget cutbacks is a rather dry phrase—until we remember that it is human lives that are being cut back."

That's what the word "cutback" means. The Democrats and Republicans are cutting back human lives, so they can boost the profits of a tiny handful.

This Solidarity Day action—physically bringing together organizations that symbolize and represent the victims of Washington's onslaught, those who have already begun fighting back—will give a boost to social thinking in the American working class and a boost to the idea of acting politically.

Above everything else, it will help advance the bold but simple idea that working people need our own party, that we must break from the Democratic and Republican two-party trap.

A Changing World

This country today is going through a process of major change. It will be uneven, with ebbs and flows. It will be a learning process, with more setbacks than advances for a while. We have to be clear and sober about where politics is in this country right now, what's happening. There is no class-struggle left wing, or an embryo of one, that we can point to. There is no layer of the lower leadership of the labor movement that is the nucleus of a class-struggle left wing.

What's most important is what is happening *underneath* them—among the young workers, the Blacks and Latinos, the women workers, those who are fighting back. They furnish the power of the resistance that has started pushing back and begun moving through the obstacles thrown up by the officialdom. It's to these vanguard fighters that we need to talk about what's really happening in this country, and why.

Our press needs to explain, week after week, that the key to a winning fightback is *political* action, *political* independence, and the solidarity that can make that possible. Workers have to transform their unions into fighting instruments, under their own democratic control, so that they can defend themselves and unite with their allies.

What's happening in this country is reflected at this convention. The party's turn to industry, the turn to a new generation of young workers, gets reflected in everything that this convention does. We are not just talking about and planning the turn. We're doing it. We're part of what's happening among the workers. We're drawing lessons and moving forward.

This same process is happening on a world scale, too. From Nicaragua to Poland, from South Africa to Liverpool, from Grenada to Maze Prison in Ireland—young fighters, young workers are coming forward. They come from vastly different experiences and backgrounds. They have been messed over by capitalists, by imperialist domination and colonial occupiers, by Stalinist oppression. They come from different

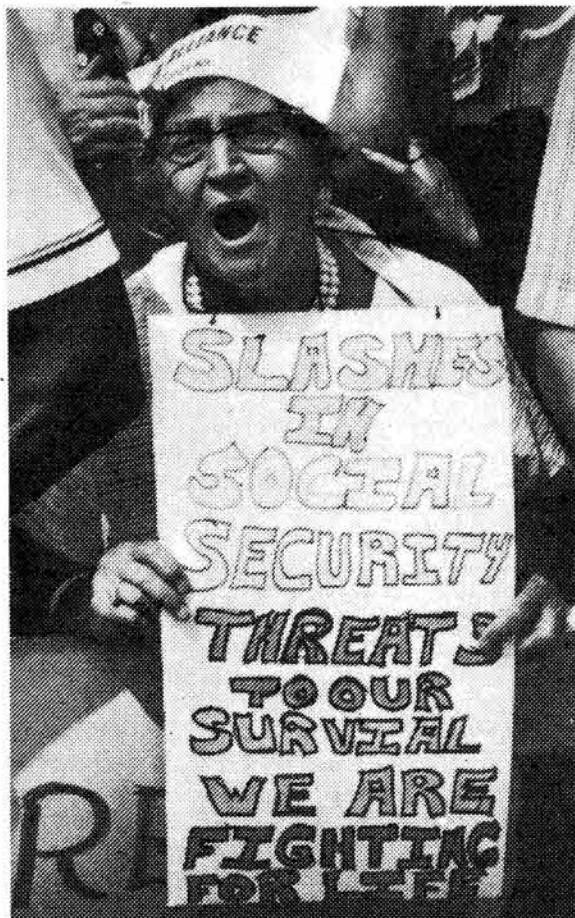
directions, shaped by their varying concrete experiences.

Our great strength, as part of a world party of Marxist fighters, is our capacity to help them all see their common road, their common line of march. To deal with each other worker to worker. We see this common road whether we're in Poland, whether we're in Cuba, whether we're in Britain, whether we're right here in this country—no matter where we are. These working-class fighters are the future of humanity. They will be the *leaders* who find a way out of the impasse created by capitalism, an impasse that the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists offer no way out of.

Just as we become part of the vanguard fighters in the labor movement in this country, part of the loyal builders of the National Black Independent Political Party, we also become part of this process *on a world scale*. We become one with this generation of young workers. We learn with them.

Millions and millions of young fighters are coming forward. They believe in their principles enough to die for them. Like Malcolm X, like the Cubans, like the Vietnamese. Or like the young rebels in Ireland, who are willing to die so that their nation might live. Thatcher's response to the hunger strikers—that's what the capitalist world has to offer the best of the young generation in 1981.

It's unthinkable to young fighters like these—



'The stakes get bigger and bigger the more the rulers are forced to openly state their plans in regard to social services, security, jobs, wages, and democratic rights.'

it's not even a discussable question—that their principles are not worth dying for. It's part of their very being.

And as that courage and determination comes forward more and more, it becomes irresistible. It provides the basis, the human material, to develop the political leadership that is ultimately necessary to bring the world socialist revolution to successful fruition.

We're one with that process. We're part of it. We learn from it.

New Generation

These are often new struggles, a new generation, with new names. What if someone ten years ago told you that an organization named the New Jewel Movement was going to form a workers and farmers government on a tiny island you'd never heard of? Or that they would make a big contribution to the development of proletarian leadership on a world scale?

Some of the names are going to be different. Some of the terms are going to be unfamiliar. The experiences are going to come out of the real struggles as they unfold concretely.

If someone five years ago had asked you, "How do you rate 'mixed economy,' 'pluralism,' and 'national unity' as tools for establishing a workers state?" you might have answered, "Not very high. No sir! Not in my book!"

And you would not have been wrong. Because when such terms are posed abstractly, they have no clear class content. Concretely, they are often the words of bourgeois radicals and petty bourgeois confusionists. But in Nicaragua today, they are *not* posed abstractly. They are posed concretely. Not by bourgeois or confusionists, but by Nicaraguan workers and peasants advancing their revolution. The class content has been given by the Nicaraguan toilers.

The proletarianization of world politics can, under given circumstances, give working-class content to all these expressions, and we'll see many, many more. We discover, fortunately, that our book is still being written. We'll draw lessons and inspiration from the internationalization of U.S. politics—the impact on this country of the *combination* of struggles and experiences, often unexpected, by our class brothers and sisters around the world.

At the New York rally for our lawsuit this spring, one of the speakers—Afeni Shakur, a leader of the Black movement there—described a copy of a Black newsweekly, the *Black American*. On one half of the front cover was a large picture of a Black fighter in prison; on the other half was an equal-size picture of the Irish martyr Bobby Sands.

The speaker said that such a front page would have been unthinkable a year or so ago. But times are changing.

Internationalism

It is changes like these that give us unshakable confidence in the internationalism of our class and its allies worldwide. The workers of the world can push back the danger of war. They can wound this ruling class here in the United States. They can put fear on the face of General Haig and his ilk. They can buy time for the workers of this country to do our job. But only the workers right here can do that job.

Because ultimately, the deepest questions of internationalism in *this* country and in *this* party are the ones that have to do with organizing and preparing the American workers to wrest power out of the hands of the U.S. capitalist class and make the world safe for human life and social progress.

Deepening the turn into industry. Winning young workers to our movement. Learning and growing through struggle. Challenging the political monopoly of the bosses. These are the biggest international questions for us. They are the *decisive* ones.

And the greatest thing we can do to aid our comrades in the Fourth International, our comrades in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Grenada, in Vietnam, in Poland, in Africa, in Ireland, and wherever else struggles are taking place—the best thing we can say to them is what James P. Cannon said thirty-five years ago at a convention of the Socialist Workers Party:

"Our part is to build up this party which believes in the unlimited power and resources of the American workers, and believes no less in its own capacity to organize and lead them to storm and victory."

'A People's History of the United States'

Reviewed by Kathleen Denny

A People's History of the United States
by Howard Zinn, Harper & Row, 1980,
600 pp., \$7.95 paper, \$20 hardback.

A People's History of the United States covers five hundred years of American history—from the landing of Columbus to the closing years of the Carter administration.

Most books like that are school texts, which tell the story of wise business and political leaders who designed a social system to ensure democracy and opportunity for all.

There may have been blemishes like slavery, rare disasters like the Great Depression of the 1930s, unfortunate mistakes like the Vietnam War, and works of evil men, such as the Watergate break-in. But in most official accounts of American history, these are the exceptions that prove the rule: One nation under God with liberty and justice for all.

Howard Zinn's book expressly counters the myth that the United States is a family with common interests. He thoroughly documents the conflicts of interest that weave and explode between conquerers and conquered, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers, those who dominate and those who are dominated through racism and sexism.

Throughout the book, Zinn stresses that versions of history vary according to whose side the teller is on.

For his part, he believes that the present system of monopoly capitalism ultimately benefits one percent of the population, while the other 99 percent are their victims. He seeks to "disclose the hidden episodes when . . . people showed their ability to resist, to join together, occasionally to win." Thus he hopes to inspire confidence in the future.

A continual theme of exploitation, economic booms, and slumps underlies Zinn's lively narrative. He weaves together the separate and conflicting interests of classes and oppressed layers—how they acted and reacted to developments and events.

Effective use of speeches, letters, biographies and popular culture give flavor and voice to Native Americans, slaves, small farmers, soldiers, trade unionists, women, Blacks, and members of radical and socialist movements.

Today, class conscious workers and fighters for social progress can find their roots in the mechanics, artisans and small farmers that made up the radical forces of the Continental Army, the striking women of the Lowell textile mills, or the movement for the eight-hour day.

Leaders of these struggles stand out: Black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, trade union organizers like Bill Haywood and Mother Jones, the socialist Eugene V. Debs. All were fighters against exploitation and injustice, in whom we can find our continuity and our history.

Zinn demonstrates that repression and harassment of such fighters has been a systematic government practice since its beginning. Legislative bodies, police, and courts have violated democratic rights when the interests of the ruling rich were threatened.

The methods—fines, arrest, imprisonment, torture, deportation, frame-ups, and assassination—have been similar, whether the victims were abolitionists, trade unionists, or opponents of imperialist wars.

One example is the imprisonment of Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act of 1940 for their opposition to World War II and advocacy of revolutionary ideas.

Unlike most liberal and radical historians, Zinn concludes that World War II was not a war against fascism, but an imperialist war. The imprisonment of Japanese-Americans, Jim Crow, clamp-



A contemporary lithograph views effects of depression of 1837



Sweatshop boss oversees seamstress

down on trade union rights and political repression exposed government claims to defend democracy as hollow rhetoric. The U.S. rulers' goal of world military and economic dominance is unmistakable.

Despite his sensitive and thorough documentation of the struggle against oppression and exploitation in the United States, Howard Zinn dismisses the War for Independence. In this war monarchy and colonial dependence were shrugged off and the world's first bourgeois republic was established as a simple fight between rival wings of the ruling class. The urban workers and small farmers had no stake in it.

Similarly, Zinn views the Civil War not as a progressive battle through which the slave system was destroyed and the power of the slaveholders broken, but as another inter-elite squabble over who shall exploit the American masses. He thinks it resulted in no substantial gains for Black slaves or for white wage slaves.

Zinn's historical analysis is oddly ahistorical. One system of class rule is dismissed as just as bad as another.

Not being a scientific socialist, he misses the role of the class struggle, through which one mode of production replaced another, more backward one.

While he documents the rise of the industrial working class and the trade unions, he does not understand that the dominance of capitalist wage labor and profit was a precondition for their development. This development, however bloody and oppressive, made it possible for the industrial working class to grow into the role of a force capable of leading the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism.

This lack of historical perspective comes to the fore in the concluding chapters, in which Zinn expresses his hope to end exploitation and oppression through the enlistment of the middle classes in a movement of the 99 percent with no direct interest in the capitalist system.

He considers soldiers and police, professionals and production workers, administrators, judges and transport workers equally important to the maintenance of the present system, and to its replacement.

Solidarity Day challenges war budget

By Stu Singer
and Fred Feldman

The September 19 Solidarity Day March on Washington called by the AFL-CIO is directed against the Reagan budget cuts, the tax giveaways for the rich, and the slashing and destruction of laws and regulations protecting workers rights and safety.

Civil rights and women's equality are focuses of the demonstration.

It promises to be one of the most powerful political demonstrations ever called by the labor movement in the United States.

Antiwar rally

September 19 will also be a huge antiwar demonstration. It will be a rally of working people who believe human needs should come before spending on new weapons of mass death. It will mobilize tens of thousands of opponents of the draft and new Vietnams.

The huge increase in the military budget is the other side of the coin of cuts in Social Security and other social services. Workers know it. Resistance on the part of working people to sacrificing for the arms buildup helped spur the AFL-CIO to call Solidarity Day.

The support for September 19 shows that Reagan has no mandate for his program of austerity for the workers. It will send the administration a message that there is no mandate for the draft or for military intervention in El Salvador or other countries.

Some supporters of Solidarity Day, like the International Association of Machinists, are helping to make these sentiments highly visible September 19. They are reaching out to antidraft groups, opponents of nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and organizations opposed to U.S. intervention in El Salvador to come to Washington with banners and slogans expressing their views.

It is a big development that the AFL-CIO has initiated and organized a demonstration that will deal a blow to the rulers' drive toward militarization and war.

Support foreign policy

Most of the top leaders of the AFL-CIO, represented by President Lane Kirkland, have supported the foreign policy of the U.S. government from Korea to Vietnam to El Salvador. The AFL-CIO Executive Council is on record for draft registration and a bigger arms budget, although opposition to prowar policies is growing in the unions.

Because of this policy, none of the statements issued by the AFL-CIO on Solidarity Day have mentioned the war issue as a focus of the demonstration nor have any slogans against the draft or the swollen military budget been suggested.

Big business is worried about the shifts in the union movement that Solidarity Day symbolizes. On August 6 the *Wall Street Journal* addressed an editorial to top AFL-CIO leaders, reminding them of what is at stake in the Reagan program.

The *Journal* was responding to AFL-CIO statements in support of the air controllers, but they obviously had Solidarity Day in mind, too:

"Lane Kirkland and other cool heads at the AFL-CIO should first give some thought to what the administration has at stake. Mr. Reagan has tried to restore public confidence in presidential policy and repair the erosion that occurred during the zigzags of the Carter administration.

"Central to this effort are clarity . . . on a whole range of issues with global implications: They include, for example, commitments to rebuild military strength, to restore the dollar to soundness, to cut taxes and regulation, to resist Soviet imperialism, to curb the wild ascent of federal spending."

The *Wall Street Journal* is telling Kirkland that he can't challenge the budget cuts or union-busting and not undermine the foreign policy that he supports. You can't be against budget



cuts in social services and for the massive military budget, the *Journal* explains.

Guns and butter?

According to the *AFL-CIO News*, the union federation's Executive Council meeting in Chicago in early August discussed the military budget. Some of their report on this is worth quoting:

"The AFL-CIO's traditional and steadfast support for a strong national defense should not be construed as 'a blank check for the Pentagon,' the Executive Council declared.

"The council warned in a statement that the Reagan Administration's policies are threatening to shatter the national consensus for a stronger defense effort.

"By increasing defense spending at the expense of vital social programs, the Administration risks the creation of new anti-defense constituencies among workers, the poor, minorities and the elderly," the council said, adding:

"Popular support for a strong defense and foreign policy cannot be sustained by unjust social and economic policies which generate social tension, class conflict and political polarization. Nor will such policies produce the economic strength required for military strength."

Kirkland and Co. make a valid point when they say that support for the arms budget is being undermined by increasing military spending at the expense of vital social programs. But they are kidding themselves when they say that you can have the social programs working people need and a vast military budget.

Vietnam

During most of the Vietnam war the capitalist system was in better economic shape than it is today. During the first years of that war, social programs were actually expanded especially under the pressure of the civil rights movement and the Black revolts in the cities.

Real wages generally held their own against inflation, or even improved a little.

Capitalism had enough fat on its bones to avoid the kind of severe cuts in living standards that are being imposed now to pay for the new war drive.

The bosses had a "guns and butter" line during the Vietnam war. And this helped buy support from at least one constituency, the top union officials.

For them, this was just an extension of their longstanding policy of going along with big business, the Democratic and Republican politicians, and the capitalist government. In exchange, they counted on getting enough concessions

in terms of wages and fringes to keep dissatisfaction from getting out of hand.

When the AFL-CIO Executive Council asks today for a "guns and butter" policy, they are appealing for a return to those "good old days."

Among workers, however, there came to be overwhelming opposition to the Vietnam war. The drafting of youth and the brutal waste of the lives of more than 50,000 Americans fueled this sentiment. And the near destruction of Indochina increasingly repelled working people.

Today, the U.S. economy is in a different period. A long-term decline has set in. Profits are being squeezed. Competition among the capitalist countries is increasing. Inflation eats away at currencies and world trade. Unemployment is on the rise.

War drive

Moves toward war are built into this crisis. Everywhere the U.S. rulers are trying to improve their profit position. That means cutting the benefits won by workers here over the last half century. And it means cracking down hard on struggles for social change in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. What Reagan is doing in El Salvador and Southern Africa are examples.

"Guns, not butter" is the order of the day as far as big business and its government are concerned.

Reagan doesn't follow Kirkland's advice to combine massive military spending with maintenance of basic social programs because he can't. The rulers haven't gotten any meaner. They just have fewer options.

The new drive toward militarization and war is not just aimed at other countries, but at American workers. This time workers are expected not only to sacrifice their lives or the lives of their children, but their wages, health care, and pension checks.

The military staged a practice invasion of the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada a few weeks ago—but it staged a real invasion of air control towers here when PATCO went on strike. In a recent television interview, Lane Kirkland warned that the use of military personnel as scabs in the strike would undermine support for the arms budget.

And so it will. Events like this, together with Washington's moves to draft young people and get us into new wars, show that Washington's military machine helps only the rich and is directed against working people everywhere.

Workers are learning that fighting the government's reactionary domestic policy means fighting its reactionary

foreign policy, too.

The September 19 demonstration will express the opposition of American workers to sacrificing for the Pentagon budget.

It points to the kind of foreign policy the union movement needs if it is going to fight the Reagan program effectively—a foreign policy opposed to the draft, the military buildup, nuclear arms, and U.S. intervention in other countries. A foreign policy that identifies with the struggles of our brothers and sisters in El Salvador, South Africa, and around the world.

King Day in California



After a heated debate, the California Senate passed a bill on August 20 that makes Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday a statewide school holiday.

Two John Birch supporters, Senators John Schmitz and H.L. Richardson, tried unsuccessfully to kill the measure by distributing a statement which said "a sizable number of Americans believe and evidence points to Martin Luther King Jr. as a willing associate and gullible companion of some of America's top Communists."

The bill, which had already been approved by the California assembly, is expected to be signed without opposition by Governor Edmund Brown.

California is the eighteenth state to honor the slain civil rights leader by making his birthday—January 15—a holiday.

Victory in fight for safe energy

Bailly nuclear plant forced to shut down

By Jon Hillson

GARY, Ind.—A big victory for the antinuclear power movement was scored here on August 26 when the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO) announced it was scrapping the construction of its Bailly nuclear power plant in Burns Harbor, Indiana.

Met with public opposition from environmentalists when it was first proposed by NIPSCO in 1971, the Bailly nuke had been set to start up in 1976 at a construction cost of \$187 million.

But by the time the grim-faced NIPSCO board chairman, Edmund Schroer, threw in the towel at the August 26 news conference, the utility had already spent \$205 million to complete just 1 percent of the project. Bailly's estimated completion date had been stretched to 1989 at the earliest, with a price tag of \$1.8 billion, if everything went well.

It didn't.

Schroer cited "regulatory delays" as the reason for the nuke's demise. But this was nothing more than a last gasp of corporate face-saving.

Situated on Lake Michigan near the Indiana Dunes national parkland, a hundred yards from Bethlehem Steel's Burns Harbor mill, Bailly bordered on northwestern Indiana's densely populated cities and was twenty-five miles across the lake from Chicago.

Pilings for the reactor's foundation were to be built on the sand of Lake Michigan's beaches.

And after a decade, NIPSCO hadn't

come up with a serious emergency evacuation plan.

These and other construction and safety problems sparked mounting opposition to the nuke. Even the one-sided, pro-industry Nuclear Regulatory Commission felt compelled to order delays and hearings. Right up to the bitter end, however, the NRC stuck with NIPSCO's determination to complete the nuke.

It was the growing, broadly supported antinuclear movement that stopped Bailly.

"We won the war for public opinion," the antinuke Bailly Alliance's co-chairperson, Jack Weinberg, told the *Militant*.

A poll published April 26 by the then pro-Bailly Gary *Post-Tribune* showed that 67 percent of area residents opposed the nuke. A week later, the newspaper reversed its support for the reactor.

What was "critical" for the antinuclear victory, Weinberg said, was the leadership role of the United Steelworkers union in the fight. "Labor became the spokesperson for the community," he said.

Just a day before the *Post-Tribune's* poll came out, more than 200 USWA members led a march of 800 to the Bailly site, dwarfing a pro-nuke demonstration called by the right-wing Lake County Leadership Council.

Then-director of USWA District 31 James Balanoff marched at the head of the antinuclear protest. He said of the scuttling of Bailly, "It shows that if peo-

ple stand up, all things are possible."

Over half of District 31's 110,000 members work at basic steel mills located on Lake Michigan's shoreline. The district's annual conference last May reaffirmed the Steelworkers' opposition to Bailly.

Steelworker-organized production workers at NIPSCO came out against the nuke last winter during a hard-fought seven-month strike.

USWA Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel had become increasingly involved in mobilizing its members against the nearby nuke.

Mike Olszanski, head of USWA Local 1010's environmental committee, told the *Militant* the fight against Bailly "was political. You don't stop something like this in court, in the regulatory process."

That's why the "turning point" in the struggle "was when the Steelworkers came on board in 1976," he said. Because "they had the muscle, the power" to go up against a company, and against an NRC whose pro-Bailly stance had been backed by Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan.

Unable to lose gracefully, NIPSCO is attempting to palm off its \$205 million expense for Bailly onto consumers.

But Steelworkers, other trade unionists, environmentalists, housewives, students, anti-Bailly activists, and those who agreed with them—the majority—can savor what it tastes like to beat big business and the government that backs it up.

Very sweet.

Study on nuclear danger

The following article was printed in the *New York Times*, August 2, 1981.

If reducing "mishaps" in nuclear power plants to near zero is the goal, then 3,804 mishaps reported among 69 plants last year would seem unacceptable. It was for Critical Mass, an antinuclear group which last week issued a study of reactor safety that listed incidents ranging from improperly calibrated monitoring devices to leaks of thousands of gallons of radioactive coolant.

The study, based on reports power companies must file with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, attributed 57 percent of the incidents to equipment failure, 20 percent to human error, 16 percent to design flaws and 7 percent to other causes.

The number of incidents is the more alarming, said Richard Udell, the study's author, because the plants were operating, on average, only 66 percent of the time and at 56 percent of capacity. The Tennessee Valley Authority's Sequoyah plant, in first place with 238 incidents, operated only 11 percent of the year.

Seattle candidate walks line with PATCO

By Tony Thomas

SEATTLE—Kevin Kellogg, a test mechanic at Boeing Aircraft here, is running for mayor of Seattle. The election will be September 15. Kellogg is a member of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers and the Socialist Workers Party.

Since the Air Traffic Controllers' strike began, Kellogg has spent several nights a week and some time on the weekends walking PATCO's picket lines at Seattle-Tacoma Airport.

Seattle is one of the main targets for Federal Aviation Administration strike breaking. On August 18, for example, the FAA tried to subpoena all tapes, films, and pictures of strikers and strike support activities from all the television stations and newspapers in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. They backed down later the same day after massive public opposition to this police-state measure.

The socialist candidate says PATCO strikers he meets on the picket lines are thinking about many of the ideas he is advancing in his campaign for mayor.

"One striker told me," Kellogg said, "the PATCO strike and September 19 Solidarity Day are what we need, to bring the labor movement together, because we have to get all the unions together to fight because Reagan and the Democrats are dragging all of us down, and big business is running rampant."

Building September 19 is the focus of Kellogg's campaign. Socialist campaigners have distributed hundreds of "All Out for September 19" leaflets from Kellogg.

"We need a political movement based on the workers, women, Blacks, Latinos, and youth who will march on Washington," Kellogg said.

"That's what a labor party will be, a Solidarity Day party to fight for what we'll be marching for," he said.

"None of the Democrats running for mayor here," Kellogg said, "are doing anything to help the PATCO strike. None of them are dealing with problems like the strike of 300 steelworkers at

Northwest Rolling Mill here. None of them have any solution for the 1,800 Boeing workers who will be laid off between now and January. And none of them are building September 19.

"That's not surprising," the socialist worker said. "These are workers' problems, not problems for the big businesses these Democrats serve. That's why we need our own workers party, a labor party, to fight against these Democrats and Reagan."

The main opponents Kellogg will face in the September 15 mayoral primary are Democratic Mayor Charles Royer and Sam Smith, a Black city council-

man who calls himself a "Democrat with Republican ideas."

Just before the campaign opened in July, Royer, who is keeping the exact cutbacks secret until after election day, proposed even higher cutbacks in social programs than the city council would accept. Royer—a liberal who claims to be against cutbacks—even wanted to charge a one dollar fee to play baseball in city parks.

Smith launched his campaign for mayor by calling for a massive crack-down on traffic and parking ticket violators as a means to solve city budget problems. Seattle has one of the highest

traffic and parking fine rates in the country.

"Royer and Smith," Kellogg said, "claim there is no answer to cutbacks because there is no money."

"A mayor loyal to the labor movement, a socialist or a labor party mayor, could tax big businesses like the Rainier Bank, Boeing, Lockheed Shipyards, and Safeco Insurance to get money to prevent cutbacks."

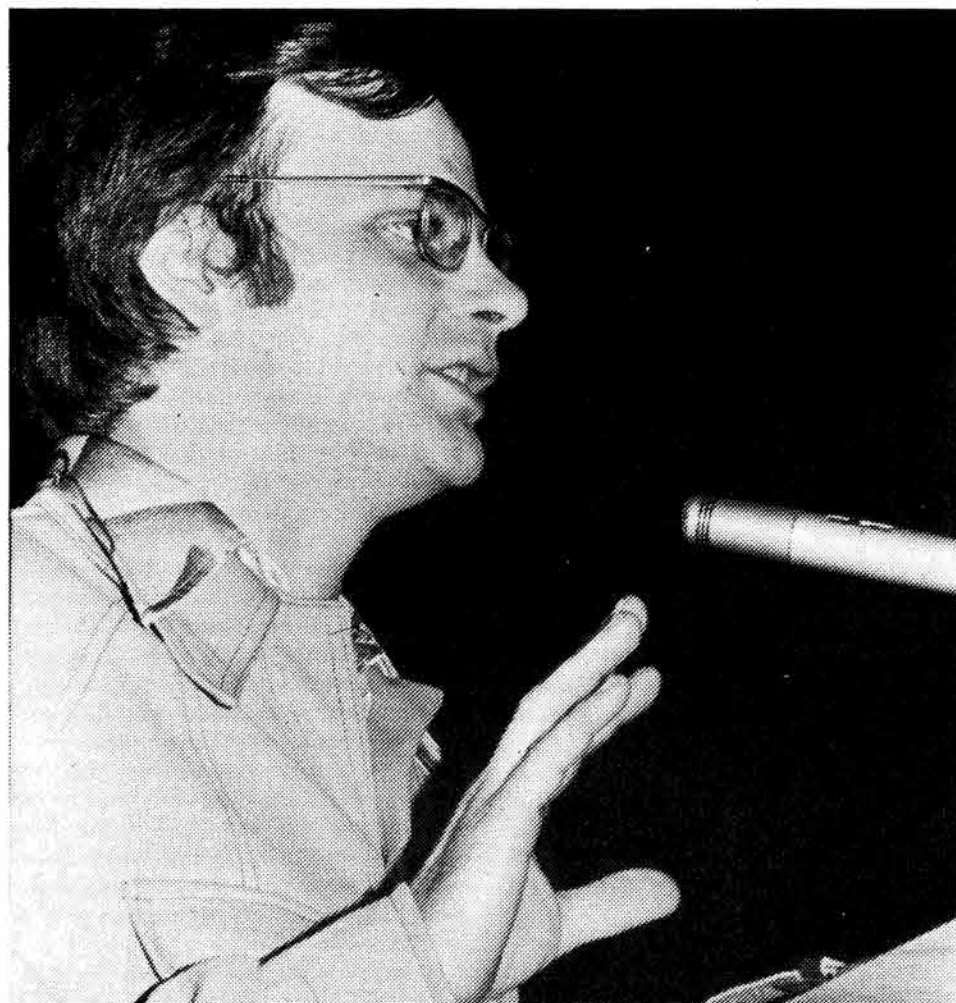
"Royer and Smith won't do it because they put corporate profits before workers needs. That's why there are cutbacks here and across the country. That's why workers need their own party."

Kellogg opened his campaign on July 29 by joining a demonstration led by the Black United Front against construction of a police station in Seattle's Central Area, a Black community. Both Royer and Smith have pushed to build the station for years, despite opposition from the Black community. Even members of a commission Royer picked to design the police station oppose it.

The socialist candidate got a good response to a statement he handed out at the demonstration calling for Black control of the Black community and for schools, jobs and housing, not police stations, for the Central area.

"One of the leaders of the Black United Front was so glad that somebody was running for mayor who opposed the police station that he grabbed some members of a youth voters group he is organizing and had them set up a meeting with me on the spot," Kellogg reported.

Kellogg and his supporters are doing a lot of campaigning at Boeing and other workplaces here. Kellogg told me that one Boeing worker made his own "Kellogg for Mayor" button before the campaign was officially announced. The same worker handed out copies of Kellogg's campaign brochure to all eighty workers in his area. Two Boeing workers who are Vietnam veterans volunteered to help Kellogg prepare for a meeting with the Vietnam Era Veterans Network.



Kevin Kellogg

Militant/Lou Howort

Socialist International discusses Cuba's call for united front

By Nelson González

The Cuban revolution is the subject of a widening discussion among member parties of the Socialist International (SI), the world organization of social-democratic parties.

The SI includes in its ranks the governing parties of Germany, France and Austria; the British Labour Party; Canada's New Democratic Party; and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and Social Democrats USA in this country.

The debate around Cuba has been precipitated by the Socialist International's increasing orientation toward the third world. Formerly based almost entirely in Europe, North America, and Israel, it is now actively seeking adherents in Africa and Latin America.

The SI voices support for the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, the New Jewel Movement which heads the revolution in the Caribbean island of Grenada, and the forces fighting the Salvadoran junta and the Guatemalan military dictatorship.

It has established links with the South West African People's Organization, which is fighting the South African regime's occupation of Namibia.

But whether in Southern Africa or Central America, the Socialist International and its leaders confront the influence of revolutionary Cuba. Cuban troops in Angola serve as a bulwark against the South African regime. In Central America and the Caribbean, Cuba is in the forefront of the movement in solidarity with the liberation struggle in Central America and the Caribbean.

This meant that the SI had to take a new look at Cuba. Formerly, it had shared much of Washington's hostility to the revolution.

Meeting hails revolutionary Grenada

"Grenada, like every island, is surrounded by water, and there are some powers who wish that Grenada would also be surrounded by enemies. But, today, all those who wish that Grenada were surrounded by enemies will have to accept that Grenada has one more ally and one more friend with the victory of the Socialists in France."

So spoke Antoine Blanca, personal assistant to Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and head of the French Socialist Party's Latin American section, at a July 26-27 meeting of the Socialist International held in Grenada. The New Jewel Movement, which leads the Grenadian revolution, recently became a member of the SI.

Blanca also stated that the French Socialist Party "will not tolerate any aggression, whatever form it might assume, against Cuba." Blanca said he was referring to economic blockade, military actions, or any form of aggression.

Bernt Carlsson, secretary general of the SI, stated that the gathering had been held in Grenada to demonstrate SI support to "the integrity and the national independence of Grenada." Carlsson said that "the SI and the outside world in general look with admiration at the progress made in the economic, social and political field in Grenada over the last two years."

Delegates at the conference voted to form a committee in solidarity with the Grenadian revolution.

—N.G.

In 1980, Fidel Castro, as head of the nonaligned movement, was invited to the SI's 1980 congress.

Several weeks later at the December 1980 Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, Castro appealed to the SI to unite with other progressive forces in a vast resistance movement directed against the Reagan administration's actions in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

SI President Willy Brandt and Secretary General Bernt Carlsson were invited to Cuba to discuss the matter.

The debate in the Socialist International today takes place in this context.

In a current issue of *Socialist Affairs*, organ of the SI, Jean Ziegler, a Social Democratic member of the Swiss parliament, complains that progress in forging ties with Cuba is at a "standstill." He notes that, despite Fidel Castro's invitation, "No meeting between Cuban and SI leaders is officially arranged at the moment."

Ziegler appears to have written his article before Ed Broadbent, head of Canada's New Democratic Party, visited Cuba last June. Broadbent was on a seven-nation tour as an SI representative, attempting to foster a negotiated settlement of the Salvadoran civil war.

Ziegler describes the SI debate as between those who think "Cuba is simply a satellite of the Soviet Union" and others who say that "Cuba . . . is instilled with a fierce will for independence and a spirit of mutual aid and real international solidarity." Ziegler clearly supports the latter view.

"It is no use supporting the liberation struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua if we do not at the same time support the Cuban revolution which provides vital aid to these struggles," Ziegler declares. "It is no use condemning the racist regime in South Africa and its constant aggression against the Namibian, Mozambican and Angolan peoples if at the same time we refuse to work with Cuba, whose armed forces are today protecting in concrete terms the survival of the Republic of Angola."

Another prominent figure in the SI who shares Ziegler's view is Michael Manley, former prime minister of Jamaica. "It is a myth that Cuba sent troops to Angola because Moscow ordered it," wrote Manley in the August 8 *Nation*. "Cuban troops are there only because South Africa sent its army into Angola in 1975 to try to topple the legitimate government of a newly independent state."

In presenting his case, Ziegler goes further than urging that the SI work with Cuba:

"The Cuban revolutionaries have profoundly transformed their country. . . . Dire poverty has disappeared from Cuba. In that ocean of suffering which constitutes Latin America, Cuba is today an island of light. Thus the Cuban revolution has become the cause of all free men on earth. Today world opinion must be mobilized to prevent a crime being carried out and the very existence of the Cuban revolution from being threatened by the insane aggression of the Reagan Administration."

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Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



Puerto Rico's status debated in UN

A coalition of third world countries backing independence for Puerto Rico scored a gain August 20 when the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization voted to call on the General Assembly to discuss Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Sponsored by Cuba, Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, the resolution was passed by a vote of eleven to two with eleven abstentions. It reads in part: "The Special Committee . . . reaffirms the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self determination and independence in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). . . ."

"It renews its call that the United States of America adopt the necessary measures for the complete transference of all powers to the Puerto Rican people and that it aid the Committee in the application of its resolutions relative to Puerto Rico, and in particular that they lend their cooperation to an investigative sub-committee of the Special Committee that will be sent to the island."

"It recommends that the General Assembly examine the case of Puerto Rico as a separate topic in its 1982 session. . . ."

Thousands in Switzerland say: U.S. out!

The following letter, sent to President Reagan in July, was signed by more than 8,600 Swiss citizens at meetings and rallies organized by the Swedish National Coordinating Committee on Nicaragua and El Salvador.

"Mister President:

"We address you to express our indignation and concern relating to your policy in Central America. We are convinced that the Salvadoran junta does not earn any support. If this junta had not received military, economic, and propagandistic aid from the U.S. government, it would have had to resign a long time ago because it does not have any support from the people."

"Through your policy you have also become guilty for the thousands of people who have been killed in the last eighteen months. The growing preoccupation of the United States and the threat of a direct military intervention in Central America can only widen the suffering of the population, but it can never stop the struggle against social injustice and oppression."

"You cannot hide your responsibility in accusing the governments of Nicaragua and Cuba. The Salvadoran people have a right to self determination. You will not succeed in isolating the liberation movement in El Salvador and all its friends in the whole world with anticommunist campaigns."

"We demand that you stop immediately every aid to the junta in El Salvador and to start talks with the FDR-FMLN."

Hearings begin on U.S. aid to Guatemala

The August 7 *Latin America Reporter* carried the following story:

"A US missionary, Stanley Rother, has been assassinated by a right-wing death squad in Santiago de Atitlán. The killing came shortly before the US Congress began a series of hearings on human rights in Guatemala, during which anger was expressed at President Reagan's decision to lift the previous administration's arms sales ban by sending jeeps and trucks to Guatemala, and by considering a Guatemalan request for helicopters and spare parts."

"Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Stephen Bosworth argued that by providing the Guatemalan authorities with the means to defeat the guerrillas and the leftist opposition, the US would help them to achieve the 'self confidence' necessary to assert control over the far right and their own security forces. Congressman Gerry E. Studds (D-Massachusetts) observed that this was tantamount to 'saying in 1939 that you would aid Adolf Hitler to get control of the Gestapo.'"

Film on Nicaraguan revolution

The Uprising, a feature film on events during the last months of the liberation war in Nicaragua, directed by Peter Lillienthal, premiered in the United States August 14 at New York City's Harold Clurman Theater.

According to a news release sent out by the Kino International Corporation, "*The Uprising* centers around the liberation of the provincial city of León in July, 1979. Revolving around the story of a fictional Nicaraguan family where the father and daughter are Sandinistas and the son a member of the dictator Somoza's National Guard, this remarkable film uses actors who were actual participants in the struggle, and who reenacted for the film what they had experienced a scant four months earlier."

"*The Uprising* has already received wide acclaim at the Berlin, Cannes and Venice film festivals."

For more information, contact Kino International Corporation, Suite 314, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10107, telephone (212) 586-8720.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Roger Baldwin, fighter for civil liberties

By George Novack

Roger Baldwin, the patriarch of the American civil liberties movement, is no longer with us. He told me several years ago he aspired to become the oldest living Harvard alumnus. He didn't quite make it. The most ancient is 101. Baldwin was 97 when his heart stopped on August 26 in New Jersey.

Roger was preconditioned for his enduring single-minded career by his Unitarian background and his experiences in the social welfare causes and radicalisms of the pre-World War I era. He was won to the creed of anarchist libertarianism and pacifism under the influence of Emma Goldman.

He entered the civil liberties arena when, as secretary of the reform Civic League of St. Louis, he defended the birth-control pioneer, Margaret Sanger, who was denied the right to hold a meeting in a private hall by the municipal police. During the First World War he assisted draft resisters and conscientious objectors as leader of the American Union Against Militarism. He was convicted and sentenced to a year in jail for refusing to be drafted.

After leaving prison, he became a footloose laborer for a brief time, joined the Wobblies, and served as a spy for the union in the 1919 Pittsburgh steel strike.

Roger founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 together with the lawyers Albert DeSilver and Walter Nelles. For the next thirty years, until he retired as head of the organization, he was actively involved in most of the significant defense cases and causes in this country. Outstanding among them was the famous Tennessee "Monkey Trial" of 1925 featuring Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan as opposing attorneys, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the successful effort to abolish the antilabor Pennsylvania coal and iron police, and the challenge to the dictatorial rule of Mayor Frank Hague in Jersey City.

Under the ACLU's policy of protecting the right of free speech and expression without restriction, it undertook to defend such diversified clients as the Jehovah's Witnesses, Henry Ford, the Ku Klux Klan and members of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce as well as many left and labor targets of official persecution.

Despite their divergent political orientations, Roger was much the same type of public personality as his contemporaries Norman Thomas and A.J. Muste. They were for many years his associates on the ACLU Board. All three



Roger Baldwin addressing meeting in tribute to the late James P. Cannon in 1974

were convinced pacifists and staunch upholders of the Bill of Rights.

He was likewise friendly with the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, when the latter was secretary of the International Labor Defense in the late 1920s before his expulsion from the Communist Party. They collaborated in campaigns to free Tom Mooney from prison and save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair.

I first met Roger in 1934 in connection with the case of the Italian anarchist worker Antonio Bellussi who was threatened with deportation for his anti-fascist activities. As a representative of the Socialist Workers Party I turned to him for assistance many times thereafter.

For example, when in 1941 the Roosevelt administration handed down the indictments of 29 SWP and Teamsters members under the Smith "Gag" Act in the famous Minneapolis labor case, I promptly journeyed to his summer home in Martha's Vineyard to seek support from the ACLU in our fight against the frame-up. Together with the noted civil liberties lawyer Arthur Garfield Hays, he unhesitatingly assured us of the solidarity of his organization.

They immediately filed a protest with the Department of Justice against the indictment and closely collaborated

from beginning to end with the Civil Rights Defense Committee set up on behalf of the defendants.

They did the same in the case of the legless veteran James Kutcher in his effective eight-year fight against the government witch-hunters. Shortly before his death, Baldwin—then in his nineties—endorsed the SWP suit against government harassment.

In the 1920s and 1930s Baldwin was a partisan of the Soviet "experiment" and leaned toward the American CP, though the diversity of members on the ACLU Board held him to a non-partisan course. His political stance changed sharply after Stalin's frame-up Moscow Trials and the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939. Until then such prominent Communists as William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn served on the ACLU's National Committee.

Succumbing in 1940 to the tidal wave of anti-Sovietism during the Soviet invasion of Finland, Baldwin promoted a "loyalty" resolution barring supporters of totalitarian dictatorships from the Board. Decades later, the ACLU apologetically rescinded this loyalty test. This resulted in Flynn's expulsion. This reactionary move by the foremost national civil liberties organization subsequently set a pattern for loyalty oaths

by other institutions—which however the ACLU contested.

In later years Baldwin was regarded less as a thorn in the side of the officialdom than as an ultra-democratic ornament of the establishment. After the war he was General MacArthur's official guest in Japan where he helped draft a civil liberties policy for the occupation regime.

Last January President Carter awarded him the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, which he merited more than many other of the recipients.

At the same time, Baldwin retained ties to the anti-capitalist opposition. He paid tribute to James P. Cannon at his memorial meeting in 1974.

I last saw him in 1978 at his residence in Greenwich Village where I had come to ask his aid for the Iranian poet Reza Baraheni whose life was endangered by the shah's secret police. He was as usual very helpful. He inquired whether I remained active as a revolutionary Marxist. When I answered that I was, he asked, half in jest: "Do you still expect to redeem the human race? I've given up that hope."

Notwithstanding this passing pessimism, Roger was an unyielding defender of the Bill of Rights and a protector of victims of injustice to his last hour. The present generation is indebted, more than it realizes, to his persistent work for the amount of freedoms it enjoys in the center of world imperialism.

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What's Going On

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

SUPPORT THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS. Speakers: Chuck Sheehan, president, PATCO Local 593 from LA International Airport; Bob Berghoff, president, United Auto Workers Local 148 (McDonnell Douglas, Long Beach); Steve Coony, general manager, Service Employees International Union Local 660. Sat., Sept. 12, 8 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (just north of Broadway off ramp of Golden State Freeway). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

INDIANA GARY

SECOND NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Conference organizers encourage all interested trade unionists and safe-energy activists to attend. Nov. 20-22, 1981. Ausp: United Food and Commercial Workers, United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, Graphic Arts International Union, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Furniture Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Molders and Allied Workers, Woodworkers, and Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information contact the Labor Committee, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 265-7190.

KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

HOW CAN THE REAGAN OFFENSIVE BE ANSWERED? Speakers: Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Louisville; others. Sun., Sept. 13, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main (2nd and W. Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

SOLIDARITY DAY: LABOR'S ANSWER TO REAGAN'S UNION-BUSTING. Speaker: Robert Tyner, vice-president, Allied Services Division, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Sun., Sept. 13, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT

THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS' STRIKE AND REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON UNIONS. Speakers: representative of PATCO Local 211; Walt Snyder, CSEA; others. Fri., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. 323 State St., Schenectady. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NEW YORK CITY

VIGIL-DEMONSTRATION Demanding ouster of Pol Pot from United Nations and seating of Heng Sam-

rin government as representative of Kampuchea. Tuesday, September 15 (opening day of General Assembly session). Vigil from 1 to 4:30 p.m., picket line and rally from 4:30 to 6 p.m. 43rd Street and 1st Avenue. Sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. For more information call (212) 624-8173.

NORTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT

HEAR BETSY SOARES, SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF WINSTON-SALEM. Sun., Sept. 13, 8 p.m. Open house 6-8 p.m. 216 E. 6th St., 2nd floor, Winston-Salem. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1981 Campaign Committee. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

PENNSYLVANIA PITTSBURGH

THE PATCO STRIKE. Representatives of public employees unions discuss the impact of the Air Traffic Controllers' strike on the future of unions in the U.S. Fri., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. 100 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

WHY AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS ARE ON STRIKE. Speaker: Brett Merkey, member, Socialist

Workers Party and Amalgamated Transit Union. Fri., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

NEW YORK

Defend revolutionary free Grenada!

Slide show and eyewitness reports from Grenada and Cuba.

Speakers:

Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

Diane Wang, SWP candidate for city council.

Rayon Wright, president, Medgar Evers Student Government.

Representative, Grenadian Mission to the UN

Saturday, September 12, 7:30 p.m.

Medgar Evers College

1750 Carroll Street, Brooklyn

Sponsor: SWP Campaign Committee and Medgar Evers Student Government. For more information call (212) 852-7922 or 467-7617.



Laetrile?—According to botany historians, it probably wasn't an apple Adam bit on since there weren't any apple trees in the Holy Land at the time. Most likely, they speculate, it was an apricot.

Reagan's British cousin—"We have advanced ideas about fairness—too much insistence on rights . . . very estimable, but these virtues impede industrial effectiveness. . . . Workers take advantage of these freedoms. . . ."

Sir Thomas Beckett, director general of the Confederation of British Industry.

Things are tough all over—The Reagans decided not to buy a new presidential yacht because advisers deemed it symbolically inappropriate.

Double agent?—Remember that aborted operation to "rescue" the Iran hostages, where three choppers developed mechanical trouble and a fourth crashed into a transport plane, killing

eight GIs? Well, the man who headed up the operation, Green Beret Col. Charlie A. Beckwith is retiring from the army and setting up a company to help corporations combat terrorism.

Shades of Bonzo—President Reagan not only uses cue cards in speech-making but also for private conversations with visitors to the Oval Office.

The march of civilization—Not much else may be working well these days, but *Popular Mechanics* gives a

rave review to a solar-powered watch that will tell you the time out loud. A mezzo soprano voice and a choice of four languages.

Thought for the week—"California's home loan foreclosure specialists apparently know something the rest of the housing industry is merely speculating about. The state's largest foreclosure firm is adding people the same time lending institutions are laying off loan officers."—*Los Angeles Times*.

...buses & trains fill up for Sept. 19 march

Continued from back page

Union leaders have visited every church in the area, inviting the congregations to participate.

On September 19, bands and singers will provide entertainment from 10:00 a.m. to noon at the Washington Monument, where march contingents will organize.

The march to the Capitol will step off at noon. The rally will be from 3:00 to 5:00 p.m.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women

will have a hospitality suite at the Shoreham Hotel on Solidarity Day.

The National Black Independent Political Party will have a hospitality suite at the Belmont Hotel.

The AFL-CIO has chartered 3 helicopters to take photos of the crowd.

The day's events will be broadcast live on PBS television. Studs Terkel, the well known author, will be anchorman for the station.



Labor rallies in other cities

September 7—NEW YORK CITY

A Labor Day Parade, called by the Central Labor Council, up Fifth Avenue. Steps off from 26th Street at 10:00 a.m. It is the first Labor Day march in New York since 1968.

September 18—DENVER

A 4:00 p.m. march, sponsored by the Colorado AFL-CIO. From the state capitol building to the Fairmont Hotel, where President Reagan and Vice-President Bush will be addressing the National Republican Women's Conference.

September 19—SAN FRANCISCO

The California Federation of Labor and San Francisco Central Labor Council have called for a mass rally here on September 19 to coincide with the Washington, D.C., Solidarity Day. The demonstration is scheduled for noon at the Villancourt Plaza at the foot of Market Street.

September 19—LOS ANGELES

A Solidarity Day rally will be held at 11:00 a.m. in MacArthur Park. Nearly 600 trade unionists and community activists attended a meeting on August 29 to organize the event.

...El Salvador liberation forces gain support

Continued from back page

even recognized by the ostensibly ruling Christian Democrats. "It is not possible to control the Army totally," a leader of that party told the *Washington Post* in late August. The official noted that elected regimes elsewhere "have fallen" when they have "touched the privileges of the armed forces. . . . We couldn't push the armed forces too far because they have the arms, after all, and would react."

While the Salvadoran army thus seems to have the Christian Democrats well under control, it has been losing ground against the revolutionary forces. In July and August the FMLN launched widespread attacks against army posts, electrical facilities, and key highways and rail lines.

The FMLN routed the junta's armed forces from the town of Perquin in

northeastern Morazan Province on August 10. For the first time in the war, the rebels were able to take over a government military headquarters. They took twenty-four soldiers prisoner and captured arms and ammunition.

The blows struck by the FMLN in what its clandestine Radio Venceremos termed an "overall military campaign" served to confirm the assessment U.S. Ambassador Hinton presented to his superiors in June. According to the August 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, a report by Hinton to the State Department concluded, "Without greater strength and mobility, the government forces would not be able to go on the offensive. The guerrillas could attack when and where they wanted."

Hinton acknowledged in an August 7 speech in San Salvador that the army

had suffered more than 1,300 casualties and some 350 dead during the first six months of 1981.

The military's desperation has caused its atrocities against the civilian population to mount. On July 30 the army kidnapped and slaughtered forty-two members of a local football (soccer) team and their families in the western town of Armenia; some team members had scuffled with soldiers at a roadblock four days earlier.

During a five-day period in mid-August, eighty-three decapitated bodies were found in the vicinity of Santa Ana, a stronghold of the right-wing death squads linked to the military.

As such incidents mount, and as the rebel forces gain further international legitimacy, claims that the FMLN is isolated and "resorting to straight terror-

ism" (as Alexander Haig said August 28) sound particularly grotesque.

This threadbare theme has run through recent U.S. statements, and has been turning up more and more frequently in the bourgeois press as well.

Occasionally, though, the fact that the Salvadoran people see things differently comes through. "Meanwhile here in Morazan," a dispatch from that province in the August 30 *Washington Post* concluded, "peasants who once ignored the guerrillas, believing they had little chance of success, were impressed even by the action of the January offensive and, according to people who travel frequently in the region, were further inspired by the Perquin operation."

From Intercontinental Press

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THE MILITANT

Thousands of buses to roll into Washington Sept. 19

By Vivian Sahner

Thousands of buses, and entire trains, have been reserved to bring people to the September 19 Solidarity Day rally in Washington, D.C.

And seats are going fast.

The rally has been called by the AFL-CIO to protest the Reagan budget.

Unionists in Boston, who have chartered close to 100 buses, are sponsoring a labor train that will stop in New Haven, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island. Frank Carrano, president of the Greater New Haven Labor Council, reports that 1,150 seats on the train have been reserved for union members in that city.

The Machinists in Boston have donated 3 buses and 2 train cars to community groups.

More than 350 buses have been chartered in the northern New Jersey area. More than 500 are expected to come from New York.

A labor train from Chicago is reported to be sold out.

In Gary, Indiana, 400 members of Steelworkers Local 1010 have signed up to go on buses. The local is providing free seats for Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union members and for members of the Bailly Alliance, an anti-nuclear group in Gary.

A train organized by the United Auto Workers in Indiana is also reported to be sold out. UAW Region 3 has 600 members on the train plus 15 buses.

From the Cleveland area, Steelworkers District 28 plans to send 2,000 members to September 19. UAW Region 2 has reserved 20 buses. A send-off rally from Cleveland Municipal Stadium is planned for September 18.

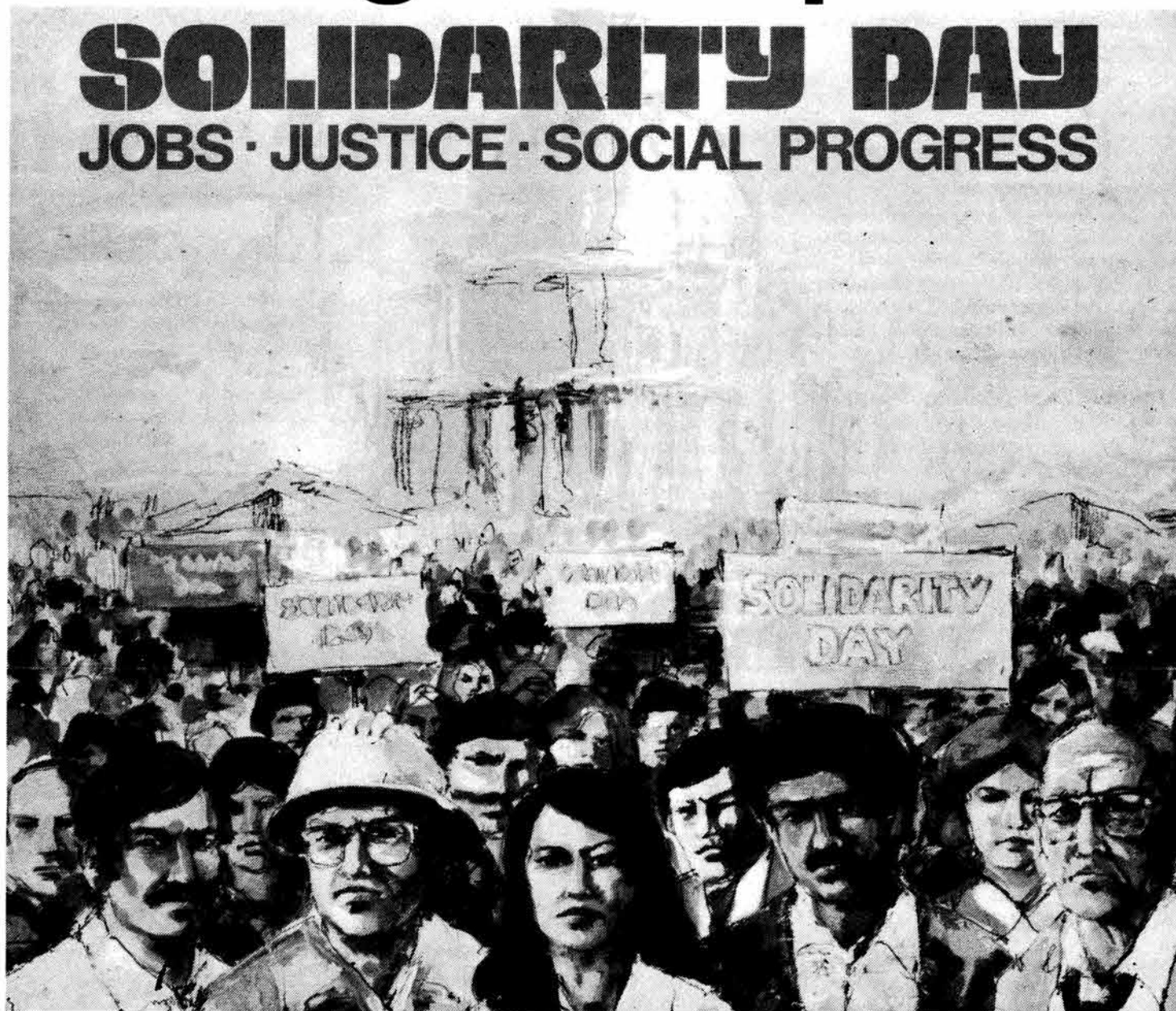
The Central Labor Council in Birmingham reports that the 11 buses they've chartered are "overflowing."

In the Philadelphia area, the Steelworkers have reserved 100 buses, the UAW has 45, AFSCME District 33 is sending 37, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers has 27, the rail unions have 10, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has reserved 4.

The Baltimore/Washington district of the Machinists and AFSCME are donating free buses from Baltimore to any group that wants to participate in Solidarity Day.

The NAACP is actively building the demonstration. They are sending buses from numerous cities including Cincinnati, Newark, New York, Gary, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Louisville, Greensboro, and Baltimore.

"It doesn't matter how you get there, even if it's a horse and wagon," NAACP



Portion of poster put out by AFL-CIO for September 19 march

President Benjamin Hooks told the press. He said the enthusiastic response by the NAACP to Solidarity Day "reflects the spirit and dedication of our volunteers, many of whom participated in the historic March on Washington in 1963 and understand the important role of direct action in preserving our tottering civil rights gains."

The National Organization for Women has sent out a 40,000-piece mailing to its members in seven states urging them to participate on September 19. NOW will hold an open house at its national headquarters in Washington during the action.

The AFL-CIO will hold a citywide rally in Washington, D.C., on September 10 to publicize Solidarity Day.

Continued on page 23

IAM asks peace groups to march

The International Association of Machinists is making a special effort to help antiwar groups participate on September 19.

Barbara Shailor, an IAM staff member in Washington, told the *Militant* that a mailing went out from IAM President William Winpinger encouraging peace groups to participate. "We think it's very important to have a full turnout of peace groups on Solidarity Day," she said.

The Machinists' letter was sent to members of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, Amer-

ican Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mobilization for Survival, National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, National Lawyers Guild, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Committee for Democracy in Latin America, SANE, U.S. Peace Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, War Resisters League, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and other groups.

Shailor said the IAM was coordinating transportation with these groups in many cities.

France, Mexico recognize El Sal. liberation front

By Fred Murphy

In a major diplomatic blow to Washington's intervention in El Salvador, the governments of France and Mexico issued a joint declaration on August 28 recognizing the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations as a "representative political force."

The statement, issued in the name of Mexican foreign minister Jorge Castañeda and his French counterpart Claude Cheysson, stated that the two governments "recognize that the alliance of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front [FMLN] and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FDR] constitutes a representative political force,

ready to assume its obligations and exercise the rights that derive from them."

The immediate effect of this initiative will be to deepen the international isolation of the U.S.-backed military-Christian Democratic junta and strengthen the efforts of the FMLN and FDR to gain further governmental backing for their cause around the world.

"We hope that the Franco-Mexican statement will act as a sort of protective umbrella beneath which other countries can safely speak out," an FDR leader told a Mexico City news conference on August 30. "That's the importance of getting support from two countries that are so crucial to the United States."

Representatives of the FDR and FMLN immediately announced plans for visits to Ecuador, Peru, Guyana, Brazil, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Algeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia to seek further support along the lines of the Franco-Mexican statement.

The diplomatic move by the López Portillo and Mitterrand governments came just as Washington and the Salvadoran rulers were stepping up their propaganda about the so-called free elections the junta is planning for next March. U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton has been claiming that these elections "will indicate very clear-

ly that the vast majority of the people of [El Salvador] are in favor of something different than these five or ten or fifteen thousand misguided individuals that are trying to destroy the country." (*Washington Post*, August 31.)

The Franco-Mexican statement discredits this notion in advance, pointing out that before "authentically free elections" can be held in El Salvador, "a new domestic order" must be established and the armed forces must be "restructured."

That the elections Washington is pressing for will make no difference in who really holds power in El Salvador is

Continued on page 23